DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 257 890 UD 024 183

TITLE	Fourth Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants (Geneva, Switzerland, May 8-11, 1979).
INSTITUTION	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Geneva (Switzerland).
PUB DATE	79
NOTE	261p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
LANGUAGE	English; French; Spanish
JOURNAL CIT	International Migration, v17 n1-2, 1979
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Acculturation; *Adults; Biculturalism; Child Neglect; *Children; Child Welfare; Cultural Background; Cultural Isolation; Culture Conflict; Educational Policy; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Nationals; *Immigrants; Living Standards; Parent Child Relationship; Political Attitudes; *Refugees; School Guidance; Second Language Learning; *Social Integration; Undocumented Immigrants; Unemployment; Work Environment

ABSTRACT

This document contains working papers prepared for a seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants, along with general and specific recommendations formulated by seminar participants. Conclusions and recommendations from each paper are presented in English, French, and Spanish; the conference papers themselves are presented only in English and are as follows: "The Situation of Children of Migrants and their Adaptation and Integration in the Host Country, and their Situation in the Country of Origin" (W.A. Dumon); "Education of Migrant Children, Including Guidance and Language Training" (G. Falcki); "Sociopsychological Problems of Migrants' Children and Cultural Conflicts" (A. Eppink); "Problems Concerning Clandestine Migrant Children" (G. Rocheau); The Situation of Migrant and Refugee Children in Relation to the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child" (E. Underhill); "Resettlement in the United States of Unattached and Unaccompanied Indochinese Refugee Minors (1975-78) by Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service" (I. Walther); "Consultative Participation and the Role of Immigrants' Associations in Relation to the Country of Origin and the Host Country" (M.C. Castro Almeida); "The Migrant's Participation in the Political Life of his Country of Origin in the Context of his Integration" (J. Cases Mendez); "Participation of Migrants in the Political Life of their Country of Origin in the Context of their Adaptation (with Special Consideration of the Situation in Turkey)" (H. Pekin); "The Preservation of Immigrant Cultures" (D. Storer); and "Preservation of the Immigrants' Culture and Sharing of Cultural Values" (I.K. Lindenmayer). The document ends with a list of all information documents submitted by governments and international organizations, and a list of participants. (RDN)

ED257890

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Intergovernmental Committee for Migration

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD024183

FOURTH SEMINAR ON ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF PERMANENT IMMIGRANTS/GENEVA, 8-11 MAY 1979

QUATRIÈME SÉMINAIRE SUR L'ADAPTATION ET L'INTÉGRATION DES IMMIGRANTS PERMANENTS/GENÈVE, 8-11 MAI 1979

CUARTO SEMINARIO SOBRE ADAPTACIÓN E INTEGRACIÓN DE LOS INMIGRANTES PERMANENTES/GINEBRA, 8-11 DE MAYO DE 1979

Quarterly Review of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the Research Group for European Migration Problems

Revue Trimestrielle du Comité Intergouvernemental pour les Migrations Européennes et le Groupe de Recherches pour les Migrations Européennes

Publicación Trimestral del Comité Intergubernamental para Las Migraciones Europeas y el Grupo de Investigaciones sobre Problemas de la Migración Europea

VOL. XVII-No. 1/2 – 1979

3

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

the continuation of MIGRATION (ICEM) and the REMP-BULLETIN (REMP), is a quarterly review on the role of migratory movements in the contemporary world. ICEM (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration) was created in Brussels in 1951 to assist the movements of national migrants from Europe to countries overseas and to be concerned with the migration of refugees. The REMP (Research Group for European Migration Problems) includes a number of European economists, sociologists and demographers who, since 1952, have combined their efforts to study on an international level the problems arising from the imbalance between population and means of subsistence, as well as the consequences of their solutions. Articles are published either in English, French or Spanish with summaries given in the two other languages.
Advisory Editor: Dr. G. Beijer, 17, Pauwenlaan, 2566 TA The Hague, Netherlands, to whom books for review and authors' articles can be sent.
Publisher: ICEM, P.O.Box 100, CH 1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland.

MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES

revue trimestrielle consacrée à l'etude du rôle des mouvements migratoires dans le monde contemporain, constitue la suite des périodiques MIGRATIONS (CIME) et REMP-BULLETIN (REMP). Le CIME (Comité intergouvernemental pour les migrations européennes) a été créé à Bruxelles en 1951 pour faciliter les mouvements des émigrants nationaux d'Europe vers les pays d'outre-mer, ainsi que l'émigration des réfugiés. Le REMP est un groupe de recherche sur les problèmes migratoires européens formé d'un certain nombre d'économistes, de sociologues et de démographes européens qui, depuis 1952, unissent leurs efforts pour étudier sur le plan international les problèmes que pose le déséquilibre existant entre l'effectif de la population et les moyens de subsistance, ainsi que les conséquences possibles des solutions envisagées. Les articles sont publiés en anglais, espagnol ou français et sont résumés dans les deux autres langues. Les articles que leurs auteurs désireraient soumettre à la rédaction en vue de leur publication ou les livres à analyser peuvent être adressés à M. G. Beijer, Conseiller de rédaction, 17, Pauwenlaan, 2566 TA La Haye, Pays-Bas
Éditeur: CIME, Boîte postale 100, CH 1211 Genève 19, Suisse.

MIGRACIONES INTERNACIONALES

publicación trimestral consagrada al estudio de la función de los movimientos migratorios en el mundo contemporáneo, es la continuadora de las revistas MIGRACION (del CIME) y REMP-BULLETIN (del REMP). El CIME (Comité Intergubernamental para las Migraciones Europeas) fue creado en Bruselas, en 1951, para facilitar el traslado de los migrantes nacionales de Europa a los países de ultramar, así como la emigración de los refugiados. El REMP es un grupo de investigación sobre los problemas migratorios de Europa, compuesto por un cierto número de economistas, sociólogos y demógrafos europeos que, desde 1952, han aunado sus esfuerzos para estudiar, desde el punto de vista internacional, los problemas que plantea el desequilibrio entre la población y los medios de subsistencia, así como las eventuales consecuencias de las distintas soluciones posibles. Los artículos se publican en los idiomas español, francés o inglés, con resúmenes en los otros dos idiomas. Los artículos que sus autores deseen someter a la redacción con miras a su publicación o los libros propuestos para recensión pueden dirigirse al asesor de redacción, Dr. G. Beijer, 17, Pauwenlaan, 2566 TA La Haya (Países Bajos).
Editor: CIME. Apartado postal 100, CH 1211 Ginebra 19, Suiza.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION – MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES
MIGRACIONES INTERNACIONALES

VOL. XVII – No. 1/2 - 1979

Fourth Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants
Introduction
p. 7

Quatrième séminaire sur l'adaptation et l'intégration des immigrants permanents
Introduction
p. 9

Cuarto Seminario sobre Adaptación e Integración de los Inmigrantes Permanentes
Introducción
p. 11

General Conclusions/Conclusions Générales/Conclusiones Generales
p. 13

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF MIGRANT AND REFUGEE CHILDREN
ADAPTATION ET INTÉGRATION DES ENFANTS DE MIGRANTS ET DE RÉFUGIÉS
ADAPTACIÓN E INTEGRACIÓN DE LOS NIÑOS MIGRANTES Y REFUGIADOS

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Situation of Children of Migrants and their Adaptation and Integration in the Host Society, and their Situation in the Country of Origin

Education of Migrant Children, including Guidance and Language Training

Socio-psychological Problems of Migrants' Children and cultural Conflicts

Problems concerning clandestine Migrant Children

The Situation of Migrant and Refugee Children in relation to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child

The special Needs of Refugee Children in Countries of temporary Asylum and final Destination

p. 21-33

Professor A. Harry Passow
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

Conclusions et Recommandations

La situation des enfants de migrants, leur adaptation et leur intégration dans la société d'accueil, leur situation dans le pays d'origine

L'éducation des enfants de migrants: orientation, apprentissage des langues

Les problèmes socio-psychologiques des enfants des migrants et leurs conflits culturels

Problèmes relatifs aux enfants de migrants entrés clandestinement

La situation des enfants de migrants et de réfugiés au regard de la Déclaration des droits de l'enfant

Les besoins particuliers aux enfants de réfugiés dans les pays d'asile temporaire et de destination finale

p. 33-45

Conclusiones y Recomendaciones

El bienestar de los niños migrantes y la adaptación inicial de los mismos al medio social de los países de acogida

Educación de los niños migrantes inclusive orientación y enseñanza del idioma

Problemas sociopsicológicos de los niños migrantes y conflictos culturales

Problemas relativos a la migración clandestina de los niños

La situación de los niños migrantes y refugiados en relación con la Declaración de los Derechos del Niño

Las necesidades especiales de los niños refugiados en los países de asilo temporal y de destino final

p. 45-57

Expert Papers/Communications des Experts/Estudios de Expertos

W.A. DUMON

The Situation of Children of Migrants and their Adaptation and Integration in the Host Society, and their Situation in the Country of Origin

La situation des enfants de migrants, leur adaptation et leur intégration dans la société d'accueil, leur situation dans le pays d'origine

Situación de los hijos de los migrantes, su adaptación e integración en la sociedad de acogida y su situación en el país de origen

p. 59

G. FALCHI

Education of Migrant Children, including Guidance and Language Training

L'éducation des enfants de migrants: orientation, apprentissage des langues

La educación de los hijos de migrantes: orientación, aprendizaje de las lenguas

p. 76

A. EPPINK

Socio-psychological Problems of Migrants' Children and cultural Conflicts

Les problèmes socio-psychologiques des enfants des migrants et leurs conflits culturels

Los problemas sociopsicológicos y los conflictos culturales de los hijos de los migrantes

p. 87

G. ROCHCAU

Problems concerning clandestine Migrant Children

Les problèmes relatifs aux enfants entrés clandestinement

Los problemas relativos a la migración clandestina de los niños

p. 120

E. UNDERHILL

The Situation of Migrant and Refugee children in relation to the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child

La situation des enfants de migrants et de réfugies au regard de la Déclaration des droits de l'enfant adoptée par l'Organisation des Nations Unies

Situación de los hijos migrantes y refugiados en relación con la Declaración de las Naciones Unidas de los Derechos del Niño

p. 122

I. WALTHER

Resettlement in the United States of unattached and unaccompanied Indochinese refugee minors (1975-1978) by Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service

La réinstallation aux Etats-Unis des réfugiés mineurs indochinois sans famille et non accompagnés (1975-1978) par les soins du *Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service*

Reasentamiento en Los Estados Unidos de menores refugiados indochinos, sin familia y no acompañados (1975-1978) por el Servicio Luterano de Inmigración y de Refugiados

p. 139

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND MAINTENANCE OF THEIR LINKS WITH THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

ADAPTATION ET INTÉGRATION DES MIGRANTS ET MAINTIEN DE LEURS LIENS AVEC LES PAYS D'ORIGINE

ADAPTACIÓN E INTEGRACIÓN DE LOS MIGRANTES Y MANTENIMIENTO DE SUS VÍNCULOS CON EL PAÍS DE ORIGEN

Conclusions and Recommendations

Consultative Participation and the Role of Immigrants' Associations in relation to the Country of Origin and the Host Country

Preservation of the Immigrant's Culture, the Sharing of cultural Values and related Questions

The Migrant's Participation in the political Life of the Country of Origin in the Context of his Integration

p. 165-171

Conclusions et Recommandations

Communication et consultation entre les associations d'immigrants, le pays d'origine et les pays d'accueil

La préservation de la culture de l'immigrant, mise en commun des valeurs culturelles et questions connexes

Participation des migrants à la vie politique du pays d'origine dans le cadre de leur intégration

p. 171-179

Conclusiones y Recomendaciones

Comunicación y consulta entre
las asociaciones de inmigrantes,
el país de origen y el país de acogida

Conservación de la cultura de los inmigrantes
participación en los valores culturales y cuestiones conexas

La participación del migrante
en la vida política del país de origen

p. 179-187

Expert Papers/Communications des Experts/Estudios de Expertos

M.C. CASTRO ALMEIDA

Consultative Participation and the Role of Immigrants' Associations
in relation to the Country of Origin

Participation consultative et rôle des associations d'immigrants vis-à-vis
du pays d'origine

Participación consultativa y papel de las asociaciones de migrantes con
respecto al país de origen

p. 189

J. CASES MÉNDEZ

The Migrant's Participation in the political Life
of his Country of Origin in the
Context of his Integration

La participation des travailleurs migrants à la vie politique
de leur pays d'origine dans le cadre de leur intégration

La participación de los trabajadores migrantes en la vida
política de su país de origen dentro del contexto
de su integración

p. 209

H. PEKIN

Participation of Migrants in the Political Life of their Country of Origin in the Context of their Adaptation (with special Consideration of the Situation in Turkey)

La participation des migrants à la vie politique du pays d'origine dans le cadre de leur adaptation (le cas particulier de la Turquie)

La participación del migrante en la vida política del país de origen en el contexto de su integración, con especial consideración de la situación en Turquía

p. 226

D. STORER

The Preservation of Immigrant Cultures: A contemporary Dilemma for Host Societies

La préservation de la culture de l'immigrant: un dilemme contemporain pour la société d'accueil

La preservación de las culturas de los inmigrantes: un dilema actual para las sociedades de acogida

p. 230

I.K. LINDENMAYER

Preservation of the Immigrants Culture and Sharing of cultural Values

Préservation de la culture des immigrants et mise en commun des valeurs culturelles

Conservación de la cultura de los inmigrantes y participación en los valores culturales

p. 243

Information Papers/Documents d'information/Documentos de Información

p. 250

Participants/Participants/Participantes

p. 253

Books, Periodicals, Pamphlets, Statistics

p. 263

Introduction

The ICEM Seminars on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants are intended as a forum for an exchange of views and experience in the field of migrant adaptation and integration between representatives of governments and international governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with migration. The Seminars usually deal with two main subjects, divided into sub-topics, i.e. individual aspects, which are analysed and discussed on the basis of working papers prepared by experts on the subject matters chosen. In addition, governments and international organizations contribute information documents reflecting their own experiences and/or policies in those fields. General and specific recommendations on each sub-topic are formulated by the participants for guidance and action on a national or international level respectively.

This issue of 'International Migration' is dedicated to the Fourth Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants held from 8 to 11 May 1979 at the *Palais des Nations* in Geneva. The programme for this Seminar was prepared by a Working Group under the chairmanship of Mr. *René Fourdin*, Director General of the Chancellery, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgium. The Working Group was composed of the Government Representatives of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Israel, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and the United States of America.

After considering a number of possible subjects, both of general and specific interest to certain countries, the Working Group decided that the following two subjects should be dealt with at the Seminar:

A. Adaptation and integration of migrant and refugee children

B. Adaptation and integration of migrants and maintenance of their links with the country of origin.

Subject A. was chosen in relation with the celebration of 1979 as the International Year of the Child, in the hope that the Seminar would draw attention to the special problems of adaptation and integration facing migrant and refugee children.

Subject B. was chosen in continuation of and complementary to the discussions held at the Third Seminar concerning the 'Relations between Immigrants and the receiving Society'*, taking into account the particular interest in this subject shown by several governments and agencies.

Experts from Australia, Belgium, France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey and the U.S.A. prepared 11 working documents on the above-mentioned subjects and acted as discussion leaders during the Seminar. The expert papers are reproduced *in extenso* in this issue as well as a list of the information papers describing particular situations and problems submitted by interested governments, international governmental and non-governmental organizations.

* International Migration, Vol. XV-No. 2/3 - 1977.

During the plenary Session, Mr. *J. Denys*, Director General at the Ministry of Employment and Labour, Belgium, was elected Chairman and Mr. *J. Mc Dougall*, Executive Secretary of the International Year of the Child, Geneva, Vice-Chairman. Two commissions were formed with Mr. *O. Opdahl*, Chief of Division, Ministry of Social Affairs, Norway elected Chairman of Commission A. and Mr. *G. Maselli*, Deputy Director of ICEM, elected Chairman of Commission B.

In his opening statement the Director of ICEM, Mr. *James L. Carlin*, stressed the importance of the ICEM Seminars. The fact that 36 countries, 14 intergovernmental organizations and 20 non-governmental agencies were represented at the Seminar demonstrated that ICEM had responded to a real need for this type of a forum 'to enable an exchange of views and a discussion of experiences – on an equal basis – between organizations, national and international entities and interested individuals concerned with the manifold aspects and consequences of migration'. 'We all are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that migration has become one of the significant factors of contemporary life and activity which society simply can no longer afford to ignore, or treat in an indifferent fashion'...

As a result of their work the two Commissions drafted a number of conclusions and recommendations on subjects A en B, which were submitted to and finally adopted by all participants of the Seminar. Apart from the expert papers this issue contains the Conclusions and Recommendations (A en B) as well as a list of all information documents and of the participants at this Fourth Seminar.

Introduction

Les séminaires du CIME sur l'adaptation et l'intégration des immigrants permanents veulent être un forum pour un échange de vues et d'expériences dans le domaine de l'adaptation et de l'intégration des migrants entre représentants de gouvernements et d'organisations internationales, gouvernementales et non gouvernementales, qui s'intéressent à la migration. Les séminaires traitent d'ordinaire de deux thèmes, subdivisés en sujets, limités à des aspects particuliers des thèmes principaux, qui sont analysés et discutés sur la base de documents de travail préparés par des experts sur les sujets choisis. En outre, les gouvernements et les organisations internationales fournissent des documents d'information qui rendent compte de leur expérience et de politiques mises en oeuvre dans ce domaine. Des recommandations, générales et spécifiques, sur chaque sujet sont formulées par les participants pour servir de guide et d'orientation à l'action nationale et internationale.

Le présent numéro de 'Migrations internationales' est consacré au Quatrième séminaire sur l'adaptation et l'intégration des immigrants permanents qui s'est tenu à Genève au Palais des Nations du 8 au 11 mai 1979. Le programme de ce séminaire a été établi par un groupe de travail placé sous la présidence de *M. René Fourdin*, directeur général de la Chancellerie au Ministère des affaires étrangères de Belgique. Le groupe de travail était composé des représentants des Gouvernements suivants : Argentine, Australie, Belgique, Brésil, Canada, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Israël, Italie, Portugal et Turquie. Après avoir examiné un certain nombre de sujets possibles tant d'intérêt général que d'intérêt spécifique pour certains pays, le groupe de travail a décidé que les deux thèmes suivants seraient traités au séminaire :

A. Adaptation et intégration des enfants de migrants et de réfugiés.
B. Adaptation et intégration des migrants et maintien de leurs liens avec le pays d'origine.

Le thème A a été choisi en relation avec la célébration de l'année 1979 en tant qu'Année internationale de l'enfance dans l'espoir que le séminaire prêterait attention aux problèmes spéciaux d'adaptation et d'intégration qui confrontent les enfants des migrants et des réfugiés.

Le thème B a été choisi pour continuer et compléter les débats qui avaient eu lieu au Troisième séminaire concernant les 'Relations entre la société d'accueil et les immigrants'*, en raison de l'intérêt particulier que plusieurs gouvernements et agences avaient manifesté pour ce thème.

Des experts de plusieurs pays – Australie, Belgique, Espagne, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, France, Italie, Pays-Bas, Portugal, Suisse et Turquie – avaient préparé 11 documents de travail sur les thèmes susmentionnés et ont dirigé les débats pendant le séminaire. Leurs communications sont reproduites *in extenso* dans le présent numéro ainsi qui une liste des documents d'information qui décrivent des situations et problèmes

* Migrations internationales, Vol. XV-No 2/3 - 1977.

particuliers, présentés par les gouvernements et les organisations internationales, gouvernementales et non gouvernementales, intéressés.

Au cours de la session plénière, M. *J. Denys* directeur général au Ministère de l'emploi et du travail, en Belgique, a été élu Président et M. *J. McDougall*, Secrétaire exécutif de l'Année internationale de l'enfance, à Genève, Vice-président. Deux commissions ont été formées: M. *O. Opdahl*, chef de Division au Ministère des affaires sociales de Norvège, a été élu Président de la Commission A et a été élu Président M. *G. Maselli*, Directeur adjoint du CIME, de la Commission B.

Dans sa déclaration liminaire, le Directeur du CIME, M. *James L. Carlin*, a souligné l'importance des séminaires du CIME. La participation au séminaire de 36 gouvernements, de 14 organisations intergouvernementales et de 20 agences non gouvernementales démontrait que le CIME avait répondu à un besoin réel de ce type de forum 'afin de permettre un échange de vues et une discussion – sur un pied d'égalité – des expériences entre organisations, entités nationales et internationales, et personnes privées qui s'intéressent aux [illegible] multiples et aux conséquences de la migration'. 'Nous sommes tous de plus [illegible] conscients de ce que la migration est devenue un facteur important de [illegible] e l'activité contemporaines, que la société ne peut plus se permettre d'ignorer [illegible] er avec indifférence....'

A l'issue des travaux, les deux commissions ont rédigé les conclusions et recommandations du séminaire sur les thèmes A et B, qui ont été soumises et finalement adoptées par tous les participants. Outre les communications des experts, le présent numéro contient les conclusions et recommandations (A et B) ainsi que la liste des participants au Quatrième seminaire et l'inventaire des documents d'information qui lui ont été soumis.

Introducción

La finalidad de los Seminarios del CIME sobre Adaptación e Integración de los Inmigrantes Permanentes es servir de tribuna para un intercambio de opiniones y experiencia, en materia de adaptación e integración, entre los representantes de los Gobiernos y de las organizaciones internacionales gubernamentales y no gubernamentales que se ocupan de las migraciones. Estos Seminarios tratan por lo general de dos temas principales, desglosados en subdivisiones, es decir, cada aspecto por separado, que se examinan y discuten con base en documentos de trabajo preparados por expertos en la temática escogida. Además, los Gobiernos y las organizaciones internacionales aportan documentos de información que reflejan sus propias experiencias y políticas en esas esferas. Los participantes formulan recomendaciones de índole general y específica sobre cada una de las subdivisiones del tema principal, con el fin de que sirvan de pautas de orientación a nivel nacional o internacional, respectivamente.

El presente número de 'Migraciones Internacionales' se dedica al Cuarto Seminario sobre Adaptación e Integración de los Inmigrantes Permanentes, celebrado del 8 al 11 de mayo de 1979 en el Palacio de las Naciones, en Ginebra. Se encargó de la preparación del programa de este Seminario un Grupo de Trabajo presidido por el *Sr. René Fourdin*, Director General de la Cancillería, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Bélgica. Este Grupo de Trabajo estaba integrado por representantes gubernamentales de la Argentina, Australia, Bélgica, Brasil, Canadá, Estados Unidos de América, Israel, Italia, Portugal y Turquía.

Después de considerar cierto número de temas que podrían ser objeto de discusión, de interés general y específico para determinados países, el Grupo de Trabajo decidió que el Seminario examinara los dos temas siguientes:

A. Adaptación e integración de los niños migrantes y refugiados.

B. Adaptación e integración de los migrantes y mantenimiento de sus vínculos con el país de origen.

El Tema A se escogió por guardar relación con la celebración del Año Internacional del Niño, 1979, con la esperanza de que este Seminario llamará la atención hacia los problemas particulares de la adaptación e integración con que se enfrentan los niños migrantes y refugiados.

El Tema B se escogió como continuación y complemento de los debates celebrados en el Tercer Seminario referente a las 'Relaciones entre la sociedad receptora y los inmigrantes'*, en consideración del especial interés que muestran por esta cuestión algunos Gobiernos y organismos.

Fueron preparados once documentos de trabajo sobre los temas a que antes se alude, a cargo de expertos procedentes de Australia, Bélgica, España, Estados Unidos de América, Francia, Italia, Países Bajos, Portugal, Suiza y Turquía, quienes actuaron como directores de debate durante el Seminario. Los documentos preparados por dichos

* Migraciones Internacionales, Vol. XV, Núm. 2/3 - 1977.

expertos se reproducen *in extenso* en el presente número, así como una listra de documentos de información, presentados por los Gobiernos, organizaciones internacionales gubernamentales y no gubernamentales interesados, que describen situaciones y problemas particulares.

En el curso de la sesión plenaria se eligió Presidente al Sr *J. Denys*, Director General del Ministerio del Empleo y el Trabajo, Bélgica, mientras que el *Sr. J. McDougall*, Secretario Ejecutivo del Año Internacional del Niño, Ginebra, fue elegido Vicepresidente.

Se constituyeron dos Comisiones, designándose como Presidente de la Comisión A al *Sr. O. Opdahl*, Jefe de División del Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales (Noruega), y como Presidente de la Comisión B al *Sr. G. Maselli*, Director Adjunto del CIME.

En su alocución de apertura, el Director del CIME, *Sr. James L. Carlin*, realzó la importancia que revisten los seminarios del CIME. El hecho de que se hallaran representados en el Seminario 36 países, 14 organizaciones intergubernamentales y 20 organismos no gubernamentales era buena prueba de que el CIME se había hecho eco de la necesidad real de establecer este tipo de tribuna para intercambiar opiniones y debatir experiencias -sobre un pie de ingualdad- entre organizaciones, entidades nacionales e internacionales y personas interesadas que se ocupan de los múltiples aspectos y consecuencias de la migración. Cada vez somos más conscientes del hecho de que la migración ha pasado a ser uno de los factores significativos de la vida y actividad contemporáneas que la sociedad en modo alguno puede permitirse ignorar, ni considerar con indiferencia.

Ambas Comisiones, para plasmar el resultado de sus trabajos, redactaron cierto número de conclusiones y recomendaciones sobre los Temas A y B, las cuales fueron sometidas a todos los participantes del Seminario siendo por último adaptadas. Aparte los documentos de los expertos, el presente número contiene las Conclusiones y Recomendaciones (A y B), así como una lista de todos los documentos de información y de los participantes a este Cuarto Seminario.

General Conclusions

Conclusions Générales

Conclusiones Generales

General Conclusions

(1) The Seminar recognizes the very considerable efforts that the ICEM Administration has to make in the organizing of Seminars. It stresses the importance of this international forum for the discussion of problems concerning migrants' integration and submits to the competent governing bodies of ICEM the suggestion that the organization of seminars become a regular function of the Committee.

(2) The Seminar expresses the wish that at the appropriate time, a fifth seminar be organized under the auspices of ICEM and that the mandate of the Working Group which has assisted in the past in the preparation of seminars be confirmed. The principle of rotation among its members should be maintained.

(3) The Seminar, meeting the wish expressed by several Latin American delegations, agreed that the next ICEM Seminar should examine problems more directly connected with that continent.

Conclusions Générales

(1) Le Séminaire reconnaît les efforts considérables que l'Administration du CIME doit apporter à l'organisation de séminaires. Toutefois, il souligne l'importance d'un tel forum international pour l'examen des problèmes relatifs à l'intégration des migrants et soumet aux organes directeurs compétents du CIME la suggestion que l'organisation de séminaires devienne une fonction régulière du Comité.

(2) Le Séminaire exprime le vœu qu'en temps utile un cinquième séminaire soit organisé sous l'égide du CIME et que soit confirmé le mandat du groupe de travail qui a aidé jusqu'ici à la préparation des séminaires. Il conviendrait de maintenir le principe du roulement pour la nomination de ses membres.

(3) Le Seminaire, répondant au désir exprimé par plusieurs délégations latino-américaines, a convenu que le prochain séminaire du CIME devrait examiner des problèmes plus directement liés à ce sous-continent.

Conclusiones Generales

(1) El Seminario reconoce que la Administración de CIME tiene que realizar un esfuerzo muy considerable para organizar seminarios. Insiste en la importancia que tienen estas tribunas internacionales para examinar los problemas que plantea la integración de los migrantes y presenta a los órganos directivos del CIME la sugerencia de que la organización de seminarios llegue a ser una función corriente del Comité.

(2) El Seminario expresa el deseo de que en el momento oportuno se organice un quinto seminario con los auspicios del CIME y que se confirme el mandato del Grupo de Trabajo que en el pasado ayudó a preparar los seminarios. Debería mantenerse el principio de alternación entre sus miembros.

(3) El Seminario, acogiendo el interés manifestado por algunas delegaciones latinoamericanas, estuvo de acuerdo en que el próximo seminario del CIME examine problemas más directamente relacionados con dicho continente.

INTRODUCTION

The Seminar, in dealing with the subjects

A. Adaptation and integration of migrant and refugee children
and
B. Adaptation and integration of migrants and maintenance of their links with the country of origin,

noted a difference in approach between the so-called countries of permanent immigration and the so-called countries of temporary immigration.

As introduction to the Conclusions and Recommendations, the following explanation might be given:

(i) Countries of immigration have specific objectives as regards immigration which lead to different approaches to the problems of migrant adaptation and integration. Some countries have policies of permanent immigration, or have experienced migration, or have experienced migration of a permanent nature, while others have policies which do not foresee *a priori* permanent residence.

(ii) However, a substantial proportion of immigrants in countries of permanent residence do not remain permanently; conversely it is known that migrants staying in countries of temporary residence tend more and more to become permanent residents.

This trend must be taken into consideration in the formulation of measures to promote the integration and adaptation of migrant and refugee children as well as the integration and adaptation of migrants in the host society and the maintenance of their links with the country of origin.

INTRODUCTION

Le Séminaire, traitant les deux thèmes ci-après,

A. Adaptation des enfants de migrants et de réfugiés,
B. Adaptation et intégration des migrants et maintien de leurs liens avec le pays d'origine,

a constaté une différence d'approche entre les pays dits d'immigration permanente et les pays dits d'immigration temporaire.

L'explication suivante pourra servir d'introduction aux Conclusions et aux Recommandations:

(i) Les pays d'immigration ont, en matière d'immigration, des objectifs précis qui débouchent sur des approches différentes au regard des problèmes d'adaptation et d'intégration des immigrants. Certains ont des politiques d'immigration permanente ou ont connu une migration de caractère permanent, d'autres ont des politiques qui ne prévoient pas *a priori* la résidence permanente.

(ii) Toutefois, une forte proportion d'immigrants dans des pays de résidence permanente n'y demeure pas en permanence; à l'inverse, il est notoire que les migrants qui se trouvent dans des pays de résidence temporaire ont de plus en plus tendance à y devenir des résidents permanents.

Ce phénomène doit être pris en considération dans l'élaboration des mesures propres

à faciliter l'intégration et l'adaptation des enfants de migrants et de réfugiés ainsi que l'intégration et l'adaptation des migrants dans la société d'accueil et le maintien de leurs liens avec le pays d'origine.

INTRODUCCIÓN

El Seminario, al ocuparse de los temas

A. Adaptación e integración de los niños migrantes y refugiados
y
B. Adaptación e integración de los migrantes y mantenimiento de sus vínculos con el país de origen,

observó una diferencia de enfoque entre los llamados países de inmigración permanente y los llamados países de inmigración temporal.

Como introducción a las Conclusiones y Recomendaciones, podrían darse las siguientes explicaciones:

(i) Los países de inmigración tienen objetivos específicos en lo relativo a la inmigración que les llevan a enfocar de modo distinto los problemas de la adaptación y la integración de los migrantes. Algunos países siguen políticas de inmigración permanente o han tenido la experiencia de la migración de carácter permanente, en tanto que otros han adoptado políticas que no prevén *a priori* la residencia permanente.

(ii) Sin embargo, una proporción importante de inmigrantes a países de residencia permanente no se quedan allí de modo permanente; por el contrario, es sabido que hay migrantes que permanecen en países de residencia temporal y que tienden cada vez más a convertirse en residentes permanentes.

Debe tenerse en cuenta esa tendencia al formular medidas para fomentar la adaptación y la integración de los niños migrantes y refugiados, así como de los demás migrantes en la sociedad de acogida y para el mantenimiento de sus vínculos con el país de origen.

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION
OF MIGRANT AND REFUGEE CHILDREN

Conclusions - Recommendations

ADAPTATION ET INTÉGRATION
DES ENFANTS DE MIGRANTS ET DE REFUGIÉS

Conclusions - Recommandations

ADAPTACIÓN E INTEGRACIÓN
DE LOS NIÑOS MIGRANTES Y REFUGIADOS

Conclusiones - Recomendaciones

The Situation of Children of Migrants and their Adaptation and Integration in the Host Society, and their Situation in the Country of Origin

CONCLUSIONS

1. There is a great need for statistical information and data with respect to the migration population and the migration flow, especially concerning the children involved in migration and more specifically as regards the age group 0 to 6.

Furthermore, in many countries the statistical data available may not be put to the proper use with a view to research on the problems of children involved in migration, nor utilized as a basis for appropriate planning.

2. It is recognized that the transition from childhood to adolescence is in itself often a period of both promise and problems, and the more so with regard to migrant children. Considering that the reactions to conditions to which they have been exposed and events occurred in earlier years may manifest themselves in adolescence it was understood that special attention should be given to the migrant children during these years. This was considered to be very important in view of the great variety of situations in which migrant children find themselves, both as a result of the special situation of their parents and in view of their own particular problems of integration. In this context it was recognized that special attention should be given not only to migrant children in a host country, but also to those who either remain in their country or return there.

3. It is recognized that the status and situation of each individual child involved in migration are brought about by very dissimilar circumstances, being generally directly related to those of the parents, and varying depending on whether:

(a) the child migrated with the parents;
(b) the child joined the parents at a later stage;
(c) the child remained in the home country while the parents emigrated.

In this respect, it was also recognized that attention should be paid to the differentiated position of male and female children. In some instances girls tend either to be overprotected or experience overdemands, particularly in relation to household tasks.

Moreover the socio-economic situation of the parents should be taken into account when dealing with the special problems of children involved in migration. It is furthermore felt that the situation of children of migrants born in the host country varies to a great extent according to geographical regions and the immigration policies adopted

by different countries (whether they are recognized as citizens or not, and the facilities and services they are consequently granted). Some countries, having granted permanent citizenship, tend to overlook the special needs of this group of children which still prevail.

4. Although the Working Group preparing the Seminar decided that it should focus its attention exclusively on the situation of the children involved in migration, it was recognized that there is a direct link between the situation in childhood and that of adolescence. This is the more so given the current economic situation and the fluctuations of the labour market, both of which tend to affect migrants in particular.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In view of the generally recognized lack of information and reliable statistics, both on the migrant population (stock) and the flows of migration (vital statistics), it is recommended that advantage be taken of the fact that the year 1980 in many countries will be a census year, to gather the maximum amount possible of adequate information relating to the migrant population, and particularly to the element of children involved in migration, concerning which only scarce information is available.

At the same time, it is recommended that special attention be given to establishing systematic gathering of statistical data on flows of migration taking into account the characteristics of the persons concerned (age, sex, country of origin, and other items required) in order to determine the situation of the children, with a view to adequate planning for their integration (viz. schooling, health care, housing, etc.).

The statistical data gathered on the migration populations, as well as that relating to the flows of migration (changing situations), specially formulated in such a way as to permit easy comparison, would be essential for appropriate migratory planning action.

2. Bearing in mind the growing awareness of the effects (positive and negative) of migration of children, which has not yet been paralleled by a permanent system of observation of their situation or by an appropriate and coherent policy to cope with these problems at local, national and international levels, it is recommended that ICEM, in consultation with other governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other interested institutions, explore the possibilities for the establishment of a centre for documentation on international migration, which could function as a permanent clearing house.

3. Recognizing that the situation of the children involved in migration was closely linked to that of the parents, it is recommended that two-fold policy measures be taken, the former directed to the family unit, and this particularly during the initial period of post-arrival when contemplating basic necessities, i.e. housing, clothing, health care, etc. (what might be termed a 'holistic' approach), and the latter geared to the development of a well-being policy for the child in its own right.

Education of Migrant Children including Guidance and Language Training

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Seminar recognizes the interest for countries of origin and reception and for international organizations, of the study of human, cultural, social and psychological problems related to the education of migrant children.

2. The Seminar recognizes that, even in the case of permanent migration, the solutions which are to be selected should be specific and take into account such factors as age, birth place, length of residence in the new country, social and cultural environment in the country of origin, and cultural structures in the country of reception.

3. The Seminar recognizes the need, where permanent migration is concerned, to ensure training in the local language and local school guidance. Accordingly, the child should be enabled to acquire, and possibly with the help of specialized structures and measures, an adequate knowledge of the language and culture of the country of reception. However, the Seminar also recognizes that particularly in the early stage of childhood he should have the possibility of retaining and developing his language and culture of origin leading to bicultural education.

4. It is desirable with a view to children's quickest and most complete adjustment to the language and the school curricula of the country of reception that co-operation should exist between the country of origin and the host country.

5. The Seminar emphasizes the importance of the participation of parents in close co-operation with the teachers – in their children's cultural integration process. If the parents are to understand and keep abreast of the social and school problems of their children, it is particularly important that they – and especially the mother – be helped to learn the local language by means, if necessary, of special schemes to that end, including the use of mass media. Mass media should be also used to acquaint the public with the usefulness of such co-operation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. With a view to achieving, where applicable, the possibility of retaining and developing the child's language and culture of origin, it is recommended that the appropriate structure and initiatives are established, particularly for the younger children (under 10 years of age) in the country of reception and in close co-operation with

the country of origin. In both instances particular attention should be given to information and guidance of the child and his parents.

2. Co-operation between the school and the parents should be encouraged by all means; parents should be helped so that their children's training in the local language be facilitated.

3. It is recommended that teachers from the country of origin, living if possible in the host country and possessing the indispensable linguistic knowledge, be recruited in adequate numbers and quality, to assist the local schools, and that steps be taken to train local teachers specializing in the education of migrant children. The setting up of a body of specialized teachers who are acquainted with the school structure and the culture of the country of origin, would be highly desirable.

4. Countries of emigration should ensure that when families apply for emigration, information is given to them on the legislation of the receiving country, in particular legislation concerning its educational system. As far as possible, countries of emigration should ensure, from the primary school stage, the teaching of at least one of the main languages of countries of destination.

5. It is recommended that the network of establishments designed to receive pre-school age migrant children be extended. Such establishments should receive both migrant and native children; their cost and time schedules should be adapted to the migrants' special requirements and possibilities.

6. A set of specific measures, such as the providing of holiday camps, scholarships and summer courses in the country of origin, should be taken to enable the children of permanent migrants to preserve, acquire or improve their knowledge of the language and culture of the country of origin.

Socio-psychological Problems of Migrant Children and cultural Conflicts

CONCLUSIONS

1. Scientific analysis and research in the field of the socio-psychology of the children of migrants has produced a whole range of very divergent data. There was a strong feeling that the results of this research are badly in need of being integrated and collated.

2. Considering that the socialization problems of migrant children in the host country are conditioned by their economic, social and legal status in that country, the Seminar has drawn attention to the dangers of an excessive intrusion of psychology into the problems of the children of migrants.

3. The chances of the children of migrants in the host country are strongly related to:
(i) the socio-economic position of the parents in the host country;
(ii) the attitudes of the society of the host country;
(iii) the parents' expectations, in line with the cause which prompted them to emigrate;
(iv) the age at which the child migrated;
(v) the time elapsed since the child's arrival in the host country.

4. The Seminar expressed its concern with regard to the dual ambivalence existing with respect to the children of migrants, due to the attitude of the society of the host country, combined with the uncertainty which often exists concerning the duration of the stay in the host country.

5. This dual ambivalence has a destabilizing influence on the child's psychological balance and on the chances that will be in due course offered to him: the parents transmit to the children their own uncertainties and their own feeling of inferiority in relation to the society of the host country. The feeling of belonging nowhere can lead to apathy, to defeatism and to aggressiveness.

6. While recognizing that there is a considerable similarity between the condition of native children from the lower social strata and that of the children of migrants, it must be admitted that the child of a migrant has in addition a feeling of insecurity connected with his status as an alien, which implies dual cultural ties. Accordingly, special measures should be taken for his benefit, measures that must be inspired from and adapted to the possibilities and traditions of the group to which he belongs, so as

to foster the process of socialization of migrant children and migrant families.

7. It was recalled that child welfare and cultural education are closely connected with the following factors:
– the family's system of socialization of the child;
– the mode of thinking prevailing in the society to which the child belongs by his culture.

8. The implicit objectives of education in many industrialized host countries are centered on the individual and his development, whereas the educational mechanisms of migrants from rural areas are centered instead on the group to which they belong.

9. It is also necessary to take into account the fact that these educational mechanisms constitute the basis of the migrant child's own culture and that they go to form his very substance from the earliest age.

10. The transfer from the educational system of one regime (that of the migrant family) to another (that of the host community) may result in frustrations and disturbances to both the child and the host society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. With regard to the day-care of migrant children, the Seminar feels that action must be taken in two directions; first, by setting up good day nurseries which take adequately into account the particular needs of migrant children; second, by generally considering the possibility of extending financial assistance to mothers of very young children as is already the practice in some countries. Such a possibility would enable mothers to have a better relationship with their children and would free them from the need to work outside solely out of economic necessity. Moreover, to fight the feeling of isolation of mothers staying at home, it is suggested that courses or meetings be organized with a view to their socialization.

2. Since school systems are often not adapted to children from the lower social strata, and still less for migrant children, the content of school curricula should be ajusted so as to help the migrant child gain a positive image of his origins rather than create a gap between him and his parents. Education and schooling should accordingly both contribute to enhance the child's self confidence.

3. In order to avoid increasing the feeling of uncertainty or inferiority of migrant children and avoid also psychological or behaviour disturbances, the school should lay stress on the value of the mother tongue and the culture of origin and adjust to them.

4. In order to facilitate the process of socialization of migrant children, additional help should be extended to them, for example through infant welfare workers, teachers, social workers, etc., familiar with the culture of origin of the children.

5. Teachers in the host country must therefore:
(a) realize that their educational methods are derived from their own culture;
(b) gain a more thorough understanding of educational methods in the culture of origin, and of the significance of the child's family ties;

(c) be aware of the advantages and drawbacks of the additional help given to the child.

6. Host countries and countries of origin are invited to examine the possibility of mutual co-operation in organizing teacher exchanges.

7. UNESCO, which, in co-operation with ICEM, has already organized teachers' exchange programmes between European and North African countries, is invited to continue those programmes and to extend such experiments to cover other regions of the world.

8. The Seminar recommends also the inclusion of the school curricula for migrant and native children alike of information on the various cultural aspects of the migrant children's countries of origin, in order to improve mutual understanding and develop exchanges between countries of origin and reception.

Problems concerning clandestine Migrant Children

CONCLUSIONS

1. The discussion has shown that the problem of children staying illegally in a country is one on which very little is known. The problem is an extremely vast one, which affects a considerable number of young persons and which varies in character from one continent to another and from one country to another.

2. Since children staying illegally in a country cannot by definition be counted in a census, there are no figures available on which to rely – not even the uncertain data existing on illegal migrant workers because those workers do not always have their families with them.

3. It is important to stress that, even though the situation of children staying illegally in a country is connected with that of illegal migrant workers, it has nevertheless its own characteristic features which call for studies in depth, not only of its legal aspects but also of its socio-humanitarian aspects, studies that must be undertaken at the national level, in order to ascertain the attitude of the various governments with regard to the education of these children, their social protection, and also at the regional level in order to ensure that the circumstances in which these children live are better known.

4. The Seminar hopes that humanitarian considerations will be the primary concern with regard to the children in question, whose parents are not always themselves necessarily in an illegal situation.

5. During the discussion, reference was made to the tragic condition of the children of workers who are in an illegal situation; these children grow up in the country of immigration and reach adult age without possessing – or being able to obtain – the necessary documents to prove their identity or even their nationality. These young persons, having no identity papers, are deprived of the most elementary natural rights, such as the right to marry.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The attention of the social services should be drawn to the need to extend special help to these children and to awaken public opinion and alert the competent authorities on the subject, and to co-operate with these authorities in seeking to determine what concrete measures can be taken to prevent children in an illegal situation from

being sent back to their country of origin, a measure which would destroy once again the unity of the family nucleus concerned.

2. Fuller information should be provided, by the authorities or other agencies concerned in both the countries of departure and the countries of reception, to the migrant workers and their families, so as to ensure that their children do not find themselves in an illegal situation.

3. The present topic should be included in the agenda of the next Seminar, and its consideration should be preceded by the preparation of a number of studies on the legislation relating to, and the education and social protection of, foreign children who are staying illegally in the host country, both at the national and at the regional level, with the co-operation of the intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies concerned.

The Situation of Migrant and Refugee Children in relation to the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of the Child

CONCLUSIONS

1. The 1959 U.N. Declaration on the Rights of the Child is to be considered as a guideline for the future but it must be realized that none of the ten principles has as yet been adequately implemented.

2. Further intensified efforts are to be made to ensure, through appropriate control, the fullest possible application of those principles which are legally enforceable.

3. Occasions such as the International Year of the Child and the ICEM Seminar are important opportunities to examine practical measures to ensure implementation of the principles expressed in the existing instruments, as well as of further ones under consideration in various international bodies.

4. The ultimate aim to strive for is a uniform system for all migrant workers which can be legally enforced to give them and, in particular, their children, the same rights as those possessed by EEC workers, and members of the Nordic Council.

5. Children left behind in their country of origin and those living with their parents should be entitled to the same family allowances, social and sickness benefits and educational grants as the children of the host country. All social benefits for migrant workers' children should be transferable from one country to another.

The special Needs of Refugee Children in Countries of temporary Asylum and final Destination

CONCLUSIONS

1. Revision and codification of immigration, support and custody laws as far as resettlement of unaccompanied minor refugees are concerned, are needed to increase the effectiveness of refugee programmes and to ensure planning. Official statements on legal matters written in non-technical, bilingual language, should be made available to all persons concerned with resettlement, especially the refugee minors themselves.

2. The Governmental authorities should assume full legal responsibilities for the minors and governmental support should be assured for their maintenance, health care and education. This care should be available for the duration of their minority and for several months into a transition period.

3. Governmental financing should be provided for social services for refugee minors from the time of their reception until they have made the transition from minority to adult status. These services should provide professional staff in home finding, orientation and continuous counselling of refugee youth, their foster parents, the school authorities and the community at large. Help should be given to acquire command of the national language and guidance to make use of educational opportunities.

4. Private and public agencies with special experience in services for adolescent youth should carry the programmes. Local and country of origin staff should be used.

5. In the placement of minors' foster homes, group homes or supervised independent living arrangements should be used in accordance with the needs of the individual child.

6. Every effort should be made to secure reliable information about the minors to be resettled while they are still in the camps of the first asylum country. This will permit advance planning for their welfare. Competent bilingual staff who are oriented to social service needs should be used to gather the information.

7. In order to alleviate apprehension and fear of the unknown the minors should receive immediately upon their arrival in the resettlement country an extensive orientation session regarding their new living situation and information as to what is expected of them.

8. The structure and way of work of national private agencies should be understood and supported by government authorities at all levels. Private agencies should be kept informed concerning national developments and encouraged to co-ordinate their efforts with those of other agencies. Private representatives should have the responsibility to confer with public and other voluntary agencies concerning their programmes and needs.

9. Programmes for unaccompanied minors have had positive results. Especially the use of foster homes has been successful. Youth are responding to patient, friendly, intelligent nurturing. With few exceptions, they show progress in rapid and satisfactory adaptation to their living conditions and generally move into wholesome independent living situations. As long as the need exists, unaccompanied minors should be helped to move to countries of permanent resettlement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Every effort should be made to preserve existing family or personal ties which the unaccompanied minor may already have to other refugees – whether such refugees are still in countries of first asylum or in the process of movement to, or already resettled in another country with adequate protection of the rights of the child.

2. It is recommended that full background data on the unaccompanied minor refugees in the country of first asylum be secured to permit adequate planning for their resettlement. The announcement that UNHCR will arrange to provide for such data is greatly appreciated.

3. The UNHCR, voluntary agencies and local authorities are urged to provide some recreational facilities including temporary schooling in order to keep minor refugee children usefully occupied during their temporary, sometimes prolonged stay in camps in first asylum countries.

4. It is recommended that upon arrival in the resettlement country the unaccompanied refugee minors be fully informed about the arrangements made for them and told what is expected of them.

5.* Governmental authorities should assume full legal and financial responsibilities for the unaccompanied minors during their minority and transition to adult status.

6. Legal adoption of unaccompanied minors should only be considered in exceptional cases when every possibility of reunification with parents or a family member who can assume guardianship has been exhausted and when it is deemed to be in the interest of the child.

* Reservations to paragraph 5. of the Recommendations were expressed by the representatives of Argentina and Uruguay.

La situation des enfants de migrants, leur adaptation et leur intégration dans la société d'accueil, leur situation dans le pays d'origine

CONCLUSIONS

1. On dispose de très peu de données et de renseignements statistiques sur la population migrante et les flux migratoires, surtout en ce qui concerne les enfants associés aux migrations et plus spécialement ceux de la classe d'âge 0 à 6.

Au surplus, dans beaucoup de pays les données statistiques disponibles ne sont peut-être pas utilisées comme il conviendrait pour l'examen des problèmes que se posent aux enfants associés aux migrations ou en vue d'une planification appropriée.

2. Il est reconnu que le passage de l'enfance à l'adolescence est en soi une période à la fois de promesses et de difficultés et qu'il l'est plus encore lorsqu'il s'agit d'enfants migrants. Etant entendu que les réactions de ces enfants aux situations dans lesquelles ils se sont trouvés ou aux événements qui sont survenus dans leur prime jeunesse peuvent se manifester dans l'adolescence, il a été admis qu'une attention spéciale doit leur être accordée pendant ces années. Cette nécessité a été jugée très importante à cause de la grande diversité des situations dans lesquelles les enfants migrants se trouvent de par la situation spéciale de leurs parents ou du fait de leurs propres problèmes d'intégration. Dans ce contexte, il a été reconnu qu'une attention spéciale doit être prêtée non seulement à l'enfant migrant dans le pays d'accueil, mais aussi à celui qui reste dans son pays ou y retourne.

3. Il est reconnu que le statut et la situation de chaque enfant associé à la migration sont dus à des circonstances très dissemblables, liés généralement à la situation des parents, et variables selon que:

(a) l'enfant a émigré avec ses parents;
(b) l'enfant a rejoint ses parents à un stade ultérieur;
(c) l'enfant est demeuré dans son pays pendant que ses parents émigraient.

A cet égard, il a été reconnu qu'il faut tenir compte de la situation différente qu'occupent les enfants selon leur sexe. Les filles sont parfois excessivement protégées ou, au contraire, surmenées, notamment en ce qui concerne les travaux de la maison.

Au surplus, la situation socio-économique des parents devrait être prise en considération lorsqu'on traite des problèmes spéciaux des enfants associés à la migration. On estime aussi que la situation des enfants de migrants nés dans le pays d'accueil varie dans une large mesure avec la région, la politique d'immigration adoptée par le pays

d'accueil (qu'il les reconnaisse comme citoyens ou non) et les facilités et services qui leur sont corollairement fournis. Certains pays, une fois accordée la citoyenneté permanente, ont tendance à méconnaître les besoins spéciaux de ce groupe d'enfants, qui gardent toute leur importance.

4. Bien que le groupe de travail qui a préparé le séminaire ait décidé que celui-ci devait porter son attention exclusivement sur la situation des enfants associés à la migration, il a été reconnu qu'il y avait un lien direct entre la situation dans l'enfance et celle de l'adolescence. Ce lien est d'autant plus étroit que la conjoncture économique et les fluctuations du marché du travail ont tendance à affecter plus particulièrement les migrants.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. Etant donné l'insuffisance généralement reconnue d'informations et de statistiques fiables, tant sur la population immigrée (données ethniques), que sur les flux migratoires (données démographiques), il est recommandé de profiter de ce que 1980 sera dans beaucoup de pays une année de recensement pour rassembler le maximum d'informations utiles touchant la population immigrée – et plus particulièrement les enfants liés à la migration, au sujet desquels il n'existe que de rares informations.

Il est recommandé en même temps d'accorder une attention spéciale à la mise en place d'un système de collecte de données statistiques sur les flux migratoires où seraient mises en compte les caractéristiques des personnes concernées (âge, sexe, pays d'origine et autres renseignements) et qui permettrait de cerner la situation des enfants en vue d'une planification satisfaisante de leur intégration (éducation, soins sanitaires, logement, etc.).

Les données statistiques ainsi rassemblées sur les populations immigrées, ainsi que sur les flux migratoires (situation évolutives), une fois présentées sous une forme propre à faciliter les comparaisons, seraient essentielles pour une planification satisfaisante des migrations.

2. Etant donné l'intérêt croissant porté au incidences (positives et négatives) de la migration des enfants, qui n'a pas encore donné lieu, cependant, à la mise en place d'un système permanent d'observation de leur situation ni à une politique cohérente propre à résoudre ces problèmes aux niveaux local, national et international, il est recommandé que le CIME, en consultation avec d'autres organisations gouvernementales, intergouvernementales ou non, et d'autres institutions intéressées, étudie la possibilité de créer un centre de documentation sur les migrations internationales, qui puisse fonctionner en permanence comme une bourse d'échanges.

3. Reconnaissant que la situation des enfants associés à la migration est étroitement liée à celle de leurs parents, il est recommandé que soit pris un double train de mesures, orientées d'une part vers la cellule familiale, et cela particulièrement pendant la période qui suit l'arrivée dans le pays d'accueil, quand priment les besoins essentiels – logement, habillement, soins sanitaires, etc. (ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'approche 'holistique') – et, d'autre part, vers la mise en place d'une politique de protection de l'enfant en soi.

L'éducation des enfants de migrants, orientation, apprentissage des langues

CONCLUSIONS

1. Le séminaire reconnaît l'intérêt que présente pour les pays d'origine et les pays d'accueil, ainsi que pour les organisations internationales, l'étude des problèmes humains, culturels, sociaux et psychologiques liés à l'éducation des enfants de migrants.

2. Le séminaire reconnaît que, même dans le cadre d'une émigration permanente, le choix de solutions appropriées doit être adapté aux cas concrets en tenant compte de l'âge, du lieu de naissance, de la durée du séjour dans le nouveau pays, du milieu socio-culturel de provenance et des structures culturelles du pays d'accueil.

3. Le séminaire reconnaît la nécessité d'assurer, en ce qui concerne l'immigration permanente, un enseignement de la langue locale et une orientation scolaire locale. L'enfant devrait ainsi pouvoir acquérir, avec l'aide, le cas échéant, de structures et moyens spécialisés, une connaissance suffisante de la langue et de la culture du pays d'accueil. Toutefois, le séminaire reconnaît également que l'enfant, en particulier dans la première enfance, doit avoir la possibilité de garder et de développer sa langue et sa culture d'origine et d'acquérir ainsi une double culture.

4. Pour que l'enfant s'adapte le plus rapidement et le plus complètement possible à la langue et aux programmes de l'école d'accueil, il est souhaitable qu'une collaboration existe entre le pays d'origine et le pays d'accueil.

5. Le séminaire souligne l'importance de la participation des parents – en étroite collaboration avec les enseignants – dans le processus d'intégration culturelle de leurs enfants. Pour leur permettre de comprendre et de suivre les problèmes scolaires et sociaux des enfants, il est particulièrement important d'aider les parents – et notamment la mère – à apprendre la langue locale, au besoin en recourant à des initiatives ad hoc, et notamment à la presse écrite et parlée. Les media devraient être également utilisés pour faire connaître au public l'utilité d'une telle coopération.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. Pour que l'enfant puisse garder et développer sa langue et sa culture d'origine lorsque cela se peut, il est recommandé que soient créées, en particulier pour les jeunes enfants (de moins de 10 ans), des structures et des initiatives à cette fin dans le pays d'accueil et en étroite collaboration avec le pays d'origine. Dans les deux cas, une attention

spéciale devrait être prêtée à l'information et à l'orientation de l'enfant et de ses parents.

2. Il faudrait encourager par tous les moyens la collaboration entre l'école et les parents; les parents doivent être aidés si l'on veut que leurs enfants apprennent plus facilement la langue locale.

3. Il est recommandé que des maîtres du pays d'origine résidant, si cela est possible, dans le pays d'accueil et possédant les connaissances linguistiques indispensables, soient recrutés en nombre suffisant et avec les qualités requises pour aider les écoles locales, et que des mesures soient prises pour former des maîtres locaux qui se spécialiseraient dans l'éducation des enfants de migrants. La création d'un corps d'enseignants spécialisés qui seraient familiarisés avec l'organisation scolaire et la culture du pays d'origine serait hautement souhaitable.

4. Les pays d'émigration devraient faire en sorte que lorsque les familles demandent à émigrer, des informations leur soient données sur la législation du pays d'accueil, en particulier sur la législation portant sur le système éducatif. Dans la mesure du possible, les pays d'émigration devraient assurer, dès l'école primaire, l'enseignement d'une au moins des principales langues des pays de destination.

5. Il est recommandé de développer le réseau d'établissements destinés à accueillir les enfants de migrants d'âge préscolaire. Ces établissements devraient accueillir à la fois des enfants de migrants et des enfants autochtones; le coût de l'éducation et les programmes scolaires devraient être adaptés aux besoins spéciaux et aux possibilités des migrants.

6. Des mesures concrètes, telles que l'organisation de colonies de vacances, l'octroi de bourses d'études et l'organisation de cours d'été dans le pays d'origine devraient être prises pour que les enfants de migrants permanents puissent préserver, acquérir, ou approfondir la connaissance de la langue et de la culture du pays d'origine.

Les problèmes socio-psychologiques des enfants de migrants et leurs conflits culturels

CONCLUSIONS

1. L'analyse et la recherche scientifique dans le domaine de la socio-psychologie des enfants de migrants aboutit à un éventail de données très divergentes. Le besoin de rassembler et de confronter les résultats de ces recherches a été ressenti fortement.

2. Les difficultés de socialisation que rencontrent les enfants de migrants dans les pays d'accueil étant conditionnées par leur situation économique, social et juridique dans ces pays, le Séminaire a attiré l'attention sur les dangers d'une psychologisation excessive des problèmes des enfants de migrants.

3. Les chances des enfants de migrants dans les pays d'accueil sont fortement liées:
(i) à la position économique et sociale des parents dans ces pays;
(ii) à l'attitude de la société du pays d'accueil;
(iii) aux aspirations des parents, selon la cause qui a provoqué l'émigration;
(iv) à l'âge auquel l'enfant émigre;
(v) à la période écoulée depuis son arrivée dans le pays d'accueil.

4. Le Séminaire a exprimé sa préoccupation au sujet de la double ambivalence que existe envers les enfants de migrants, d'une part venant de l'attitude de la société du pays d'accueil, et d'autre part de l'incertitude qui existe souvent quant à la durée de leur séjour.

5. Cette double ambivalence a surtout une influence défavorable sur l'état mental de l'enfant et sur les chances qui lui sont éventuellement offertes, les parents transmettant à leurs enfants leurs incertitudes et leurs sentiments d'infériorité en face de la société d'accueil. Le sentiment de n'avoir aucune appartenance peut mener à l'apathie, au défaitisme, à l'agressivité.

6. Tout en reconnaissant une large similarité entre la situation d'enfants des classes défavorisées autochtones et celle de l'enfant de migrants, celui-ci subit en plus l'insécurité liée à son statut d'étranger, qui implique une double appartenance culturelle. Par conséquent, il convient de prendre pour lui des mesures spéciales qui devront tenir compte des possibilités et des traditions du groupe et s'y adapter en vue de stimuler le processus de socialisation des enfants et des familles de migrants.

7. Il a été rappelé que la puériculture et l'éducation culturelle sont profondément liées aux deux facteurs suivants:
- le système familial de socialisation de l'enfant;
- le mode de pensée dans la société à laquelle il appartient culturellement.

8. Les buts implicites de l'éducation dans nombre de pays d'accueil industrialisés sont axés sur l'individu et son épanouissement, alors que les mécanismes d'éducation des migrants des régions rurales sont axés plutôt sur l'appartenance à un groupe et l'épanouissement à travers ce groupe.

9. Il faut tenir compte du fait que ces mécanismes d'éducation constituent la base de la culture propre, formant la substance de l'enfant dès son plus jeune âge.

10. Le passage du système éducatif d'un régime (celui de la famille des migrants) à un autre (celui de la collectivité d'accueil) peut impliquer des frustrations et des perturbations tant pour l'enfant que pour la société d'accueil.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. En ce qui concerne la garde des enfants, le Séminaire estime qu'il y a une double action à entreprendre: d'abord mettre en place de bons foyers de jour qui tiennent suffisamment compte des besoins particuliers aux enfants de migrants; ensuite, pour donner le choix aux mères de rester à la maison ou de travailler au-dehors, envisager d'une façon générale la possibilité d'offrir une aide financière aux mères ayant des enfants en bas âge, comme le permettent déjà quelques pays. Cette possibilité de choix permettrait aux mères d'établir de meilleurs liens avec leurs enfants et les libérerait de l'obligation de travailler uniquement pour des raisons économiques. De plus, pour éviter l'isolement des mères qui restent à la maison, il est suggeré d'organiser des cours ou des réunions qui aideraient leur socialisation.

2. Comme souvent les systèmes scolaires ne sont pas adaptés aux enfants des classes sociales défavorisées, et moins encore aux enfants de migrants, le contenu de l'enseignement doit être modifié afin de donner à l'enfant une image positive de ses origines et ne doit pas creuser un fossé entre enfants et parents. Enseignement et éducation doivent par conséquent accroître la confiance en soi de l'enfant.

3. Pour éviter d'augmenter le sentiment d'incertitude ou d'infériorité des enfants de migrants et éviter des troubles psychiques ou de comportement, l'école doit mettre l'accent sur la valeur des cultures d'origine et des langues maternelles et s'y adapter.

4. Pour faciliter le processus de socialisation des enfants de migrants, une aide complémentaire devrait être donnée, par exemple par des puériculteurs, enseignants, aides sociaux, etc., familiarisés avec les cultures d'origine des enfants.

5. Les éducateurs des pays d'accueil doivent:
(a) avoir conscience que leurs méthodes d'éducation sont liées à leur culture;
(b) comprendre plus profondément les méthodes d'éducation se référant à la culture d'origine et la signification des liens culturels qui unissent l'enfant à sa famille;
(c) se rendre compte des avantages et des inconvénients de l'aide complémentaire offerte à l'enfant.

6. Les pays d'accueil et les pays d'origine sont invités à examiner les possibilités d'une coopération mutuelle en vue d'organiser des échanges d'éducateurs, de travailleurs sociaux et d'autres travailleurs liés à l'émigration, pourvu qu'ils aient conscience de la situation particulière des enfants de migrants.

7. L'UNESCO ayant déjà organisé, avec la collaboration du CIME, des programmes d'échange d'éducateurs entre pays européens et d'Afrique du Nord, est invité à poursuivre ces programmes et à étendre de telles expériences à d'autres regions du monde.

8. Le Séminaire recommande d'inclure dans les programmes d'enseignement s'adressant aux enfants autochtones et migrants des informations sur les différents aspects culturels des pays de ces enfants de migrants, afin d'améliorer la compréhension et développer l'enrichissement entre pays d'origine et pays d'accueil.

Problèmes relatifs aux enfants de migrants entrés clandestinement

CONCLUSIONS

1. Les débats ont permis de constater que le problème des enfants séjournant illégalement est très mal connu. C'est un problème extrêmement vaste, qui touche un nombre considérable de jeunes et qui varie selon les pays et les continents.

2. Les enfants en situation illégale ne pouvant par définition être recensés, on ne peut se baser sur des chiffres, ni même sur les données précaires que l'on possède concernant les travailleurs clandestins, car les travailleurs clandestins n'ont pas toujours avec eux les membres de leur famille.

3. Il est important de souligner que, bien que le problème des enfants en situation illégale soit lié à celui des travailleurs clandestins, il y a des éléments spécifiques qui demandent que des études approfondies, non seulement sur le plan juridique, mais également sur le plan socio-humanitaire, soient entreprises, d'une part, sur le plan national pour connaître l'attitude des différents gouvernements sur l'éducation des enfants en situation illégale, leur protection sociale, et, d'autre part, sur le plan régional de façon à mieux connaître les conditions dans lesquelles vivent ces enfants.

4. Le séminaire souhaite que vis-à-vis les enfants en situation illégale on soit dominé par les préoccupations humanitaires pour les enfants de parents dont la situation n'est pas forcément illégale.

5. Au cours de la discussion a été évoquée la situation dramatique des enfants de travailleurs en situation illégale qui grandissent dans le pays d'immigration et arrivent à l'âge adulte sans posséder et sans pouvoir se procurer de documents permettant de prouver leur identité ou même leur nationalité. Ces jeunes, dépourvus de documents d'identité, sont privés des droits les plus naturels comme celui par exemple de contracter mariage.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. Il est souhaitable d'attirer l'attention des services sociaux sur la nécessité d'entourer d'une assistance particulière ces enfants et sensibiliser l'opinion publique et les autorités compétentes en recherchant avec elles les mesures concrètes qui pourraient être prises pour éviter que des enfants en situation illégale soient refoulés et qu'ainsi soit détruite à nouveau l'unité de la cellule familiale.

2. Il est souhaitable qu'une information plus complète soit fournie par les autorités ou d'autres organismes intéressés à la question tant dans les pays de départ que dans les pays d'accueil aux travailleurs migrants et à leurs familles afin qu'ils connaissent mieux leurs droits et d'éviter que leurs enfants se trouvent en situation illégale.

3. Il est souhaitable que ce thème soit inscrit à l'ordre du jour du prochain séminaire, précédé par une série d'études sur la législation, l'éducation et la protection sociale des enfants étrangers se trouvant en situation illégale, tant sur le plan national que sur le plan régional, avec la coopération des organismes intergouvernementaux et non gouvernementaux concernés.

La situation des enfants de migrants et de réfugiés au regard de la Déclaration des droits de l'enfant

CONCLUSIONS

1. On doit considérer la Déclaration des droits de l'enfant de 1959 (Nations Unies) comme une orientation pour l'avenir, mais il faut bien constater qu'aucun des dix principes qu'elle contient n'a encore reçu, à l'heure actuelle, une application suffisante.

2. Il convient de redoubler d'efforts pour assurer, par des contrôles appropriés, la plus large application possible de ces principes, qui ont force de loi.

3. Des occasions telles que l'Année internationale de l'enfant et le Séminaire du CIME constituent un moyen important d'examiner les mesures pratiques propres à assurer l'application tant des principes énoncés dans les instruments existants que d'autres, actuellement à l'étude dans diverses instances internationales.

4. Ce vers quoi il faut tendre en fin de compte, c'est un régime qui puisse s'appliquer uniformément à l'ensemble des travailleurs migrants et qui ait force de loi, afin que tous ceux-ci, et surtout leurs enfants, puissent bénéficier des mêmes droits que les travailleurs de la Communauté économique européenne et les ressortissants des pays membres du Conseil nordique.

5. Les enfants qui restent au pays d'origine et ceux qui vivent avec leurs parents devraient avoir droit aux mêmes allocations familiales, avantages sociaux, assurances maladie et primes de scolarité que les enfants du pays d'accueil. Tous les avantages sociaux dont bénéficient les enfants de travailleurs migrants devraient être transférables d'un pays à un autre.

Les besoins particuliers aux enfants de réfugiés dans les pays d'asile temporaire et de destination finale

CONCLUSIONS

1. La revision et la codification des lois relatives à l'immigration, à l'entretien et à la garde, en ce qui concerne la réinstallation de réfugiés mineurs non accompagnés, sont nécessaires pour accroître l'efficacité des programmes en faveur des réfugiés et en assurer la planification. Des commentaires officiels bilingues sur les questions juridiques, rédigés en un langage non technique, devraient être remis à toutes les personnes concernées par la réinstallation, et surtout aux mineurs réfugiés eux-mêmes.

2. Les pouvoirs publics devraient assumer l'entière responsabilité légale des mineurs, et le soutien de l'Etat devrait être assuré pour leur entretien, les soins sanitaires et l'éducation. Cette protection devrait être accordée pour la durée de la minorité des intéressés et pendant une période de transition de plusieurs mois.

3. Le financement des pouvoirs publics devrait être assuré pour les services sociaux qui oeuvrent en faveur des mineurs réfugiés depuis le moment de leur accueil jusqu'à leur passage de la minorité à l'âge adulte. Ces services devraient être dotés de personnel spécialisé dans la recherche de familles d'accueil et dans l'orientation continue des jeunes réfugiés, de leurs parents nourriciers, des autorités scolaires et de la communauté dans son ensemble. Une aide devrait être accordée aux intéressés pour qu'ils acquièrent la maîtrise de la langue nationale, et une orientation devrait leur être donnée pour les aider à profiter des possibilités d'éducation offertes.

4. Des institutions privées et publiques spécialisées dans les services pour les adolescents devraient se voir confier l'exécution des programmes. Elles devraient utiliser du personnel local et du personnel du pays d'origine.

5. Les mineurs devraient être placés dans les familles d'accueil, dans des foyers ou vivre de façon indépendante mais sous surveillance, suivant les besoins de l'enfant.

6. Il faudrait s'efforcer d'obtenir les renseignements nécessaires sur les mineurs à réinstaller pendant qu'ils sont encore dans les camps du pays de premier asile. Cela permettrait de planifier à l'avance leur protection. Un personnel bilingue compétent, attentif aux besoins des services sociaux, devrait être utilisé pour rassembler de tels renseignements.

7. Afin de dissiper l'appréhension et la crainte de l'inconnu, il faudrait que les mineurs,

aussitôt après leur arrivée dans le pays de réinstallation, puissent participer à un stage d'orientation intensif portant sur leur vie nouvelle et sur ce qu'on attend d'eux.

8. Les structures et la façon de travailler des agences nationales privées devraient être comprises et appuyées par les autorités gouvernementales à tous les niveaux. Les agences privées devraient être tenues au courant de ce qui se fait sur le plan national et encouragées à coordonner leurs efforts avec ceux d'autres institutions. Il devrait incomber à leurs représentants de se concerter avec les agences publiques et les agences bénévoles au sujet de leurs programmes et de leurs besoins.

9. Les programmes en faveur de mineurs non accompagnés ont eu des résultats positifs. En particulier, le recours aux familles d'accueil a été couronné de succès. La jeunesse réagit bien à une éducation patiente, amicale et intelligente. A quelques exceptions près, les enfants avancent bien dans leurs études et s'adaptent de façon satisfaisante à leurs conditions de vie et, d'une manière générale, se préparent à vivre d'une façon entièrement indépendante. Tant que le besoin s'en fera sentir, on devrait aider les mineurs non accompagnés à se rendre dans des pays de réinstallation définitive.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. Il importe de préserver les liens familiaux ou personnels que le mineur non accompagné peut avoir déjà avec d'autres réfugiés – que ces réfugiés se trouvent encore dans des pays de premier asile, qu'ils soient en transit vers un autre pays ou qu'ils y soient déjà réinstallés – tout en assurant aux droits de l'enfant une protection adéquate.

2. Il est recommandé de rassembler, dans le pays de premier asile, toutes les données possibles sur les réfugiés mineurs non accompagnés, pour permettre une bonne préparation de leur réinstallation. La nouvelle selon laquelle le HCR prendra les dispositions nécessaires pour la fourniture de ces données est vivement appréciée.

3. Le HCR, les agences bénévoles et les autorités locales sont instamment priés d'assurer quelques services récréatifs et même une scolarité temporaire aux mineurs réfugiés, de manière à ce qu'ils soient utilement occupés pendant leur séjour provisoire, mais parfois prolongé, dans les camps des pays de premier asile.

4. Il est recommandé qu'à leur arrivée dans le pays de réinstallation, les mineurs réfugiés non accompagnés soient tenus pleinement informés des dispositions prises à leur égard et qu'on leur apprenne ce qu'on attend d'eux.

5.* Les pouvoirs publics devraient assumer pleinement la responsabilité légale et financière des enfants non accompagnés pendant leur minorité et leur passage à l'âge adulte.

6. L'adoption légale des mineurs non accompagnés ne devrait être envisagée qu'à titre exceptionnel, une fois épuisées toutes les possibilités de regroupement avec les parents ou avec un membre de la famille susceptible d'en assumer la tutelle et quand on estime qu'elle est de l'intérêt de l'enfant.

* Les délégués de l'Argentine et de l'Uruguay ont exprimé des réserves au sujet du paragraphe 5 des recommandations.

El bienestar de los niños migrantes y la adaptación inicial de los mismos al medio social de los países de acogida

CONCLUSIONES

1. Hacen mucha falta información y datos estadísticos relativos a la población y la corriente migratoria, especialmente en lo que se refiere a los niños a los que afecta la migración y sobre todo con respecto a la categoría de 0 a 6 años de edad.

Lo que es más, en muchos países los datos estadísticos de que se dispone no se pueden utilizar debidamente con miras a una investigación sobre los problemas de los niños que participan en la migración y no sirven como base para una planificación adecuada.

2. Se reconoce que la transición de la infancia a la adolescencia es frecuentemente ya por sí misma un período tanto de esperanza como de problemas, aun más en lo que se refiere a los niños migrantes. Considerando que las reacciones a las condiciones a las que estuvieron sometidos y lo sucedido en años anteriores pueden manifestarse durante la adolescencia, se acordó que debía dedicarse una atención especial a los niños migrantes durante estos años. Este hecho se consideró sumamente importante, debido a la gran variedad de situaciones en que se encuentran los niños migrantes, debido a la situación especial de sus padres, lo mismo que a sus propios problemas de integración. A este respecto se reconoció que debía prestarse una atención especial, no sólo a los niños migrantes en un país de acogida, sino también a los que permanecen en su país de origen o regresan a él.

3. Se reconoció que la condición y situación de cada niño al que afecta la migración son el producto de circunstancias sumamente diversas que, por lo general, están directamente relacionadas con las de los padres y varían de conformidad con los hechos siguientes:
(a) el niño emigró con los padres;
(b) el niño se reunió con los padres ulteriormente;
(c) el niño permaneció en el país de origen, al paso que los padres emigraron.
A este respecto, se reconoció también que debe prestarse atención a la posición diferente de los niños y de las niñas. En algunos casos, las niñas tienden a estar demasiado protegidas o a presentar exigencias excesivas, sobre todo en lo que se refiere a las tareas domésticas.

Además, debe tomarse en cuenta la situación socioeconómica de los padres cuando haya que ocuparse de los problemas especiales de los niños a los que afecta la migración. Se estimó además que la situación de los hijos de los migrantes nacidos en el país de acogida varía en alto grado según las regiones geográficas y la política de inmigración

adoptada por los diferentes países (si se les reconoce o no como ciudadanos y si se les dan las facilidades y si se prestan los servicios correspondientes a esa condición). Algunos países, después de haberles otorgado la nacionalidad con carácter permanente, tienden a no tomar en cuenta las necesidades especiales que sigue teniendo ese grupo de niños.

4. Aunque el Grupo de Trabajo que preparó el Seminario decidió enfocar su atención exclusivamente en la situación de los niños afectados por la migración, se reconoció que hay un vínculo directo entre la situación en la infancia y en la adolescencia. Tanto más cuanto que la situación económica actual y las fluctuaciones del mercado del trabajo, tienden a afectar en especial a los migrantes.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. En vista de la falta generalmente reconocida de información y estadísticas seguras, tanto sobre la población migrante como sobre las corrientes de migración (estadísticas demográficas), se recomienda que se aproveche la circunstancia de que el año 1980 será en muchos países el año del censo, para reunir el máximo posible de información pertinente sobre la población migrante y especialmente sobre el factor que constituyen los niños en la migración, sobre el cual no se dispone sino de pocos datos.

Asimismo se recomienda que se preste una atención especial de la reunión sistemática de datos estadísticos sobre las corrientes de migración, teniendo en cuenta las características de las personas a las que conciernen (su edad, sexo, país de origen y otros datos necesarios) a fin de determinar la situación de los hijos, con miras a planificar de manera adecuada su integración (escolarización, cuidados de salud, vivienda, etc.).

Sería esencial para una planificación adecuada de las migraciones qu los datos estadísticos que se compilaran sobre las poblaciones migrantes, así como sobre las corrientes migratorias (cambios de situaciones) se presentasen de modo que permitieran una comparación general.

2. Teniendo presente la conciencia cada vez mayor de los efectos (positivos y negativos) de la migración de los niños, que no tiene todavía el paralelo de un sistema permanente de observación de su situación y de una política adecuada y coherente, se recomienda que el CIME, en consulta con otras organizaciones gubernamentales, intergubernamentales y no gubernamentales y con otras instituciones interesadas, explore las posibilidades de establecer un centro de documentación sobre la migración interna que podría funcionar como un centro permanente de intercambio de información.

3. Reconociendo que la situación de los niños migrantes se halla estrechamente ligada a la de los padres, se recomienda que se tomen medidas en el sentido de una política doble que, por una parte, se refiera directamente a la familia como entidad, especialmente en el período inicial que sigue a la llegada, teniendo en cuenta las necesidades fundamentales, o sea, vivienda, vestido, cuidados de salud, etc. (lo que pudiera calificarse como una concepción "total"), y que, por otra, tenga por finalidad establecer una política de bienestar para el niño como tal.

Educación de los niños migrantes inclusive orientación y enseñanza del idioma

CONCLUSIONES

1. El Seminario reconoce el interés que presenta para los países de origen y para los de acogida, así como para las organizaciones internacionales, el estudio de los problemas humanos, culturales, sociales y psicológicos que conciernen a la educación de los hijos de los migrantes.

2. El Seminario reconoce que incluso en el caso de una emigración permanente, la solución adoptada debe ser específica y tener en cuenta factores tales como la edad, el lugar de nacimiento, la duración de la estancia en el nuevo país, el medio sociocultural del país de origen y las estructuras culturales del país de acogida.

3. El Seminario reconoce la necesidad de facilitar, en el ámbito de la emigración permanente, el aprendizaje de la lengua local y la orientación escolar. Así se debería permitir a los alumnos adquirir, con ayuda, cuando sea posible, de estructuras y medios especializados, un conocimiento suficiente del idioma y de la cultura del país de acogida. Sin embargo, el Seminario reconoce, asimismo, que sobre todo en la primera fase de su infancia, el niño debería tener la posibilidad de conservar y ampliar su conocimiento del idioma y cultura de origen, con objeto de recibir una educación bicultural.

4. Para lograr la adaptación más rápida y completa del niño al idioma y programas de la escuela del país de acogida conviene establecer una colaboración estrecha entre el país de origen y el de acogida.

5. El Seminario subraya la importancia de la participación de los padres - en enstrecha colaboración con el personal docente - en el proceso de integración cultural de sus hijos. Para comprender y seguir los problemas escolares y sociales de los hijos, tiene especial importancia que se ayude a los padres - y sobre todo a las madres - a aprender el idioma local, tomando disposiciones especiales para este fin, cuando sea necesario, entre ellas la utilización de los grandes medios de información. Asimismo habría que valerse de estos medios para convencer al público de las ventajas de tal colaboración.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. Con miras a dar a los niños, siempre que sea factible, la posibilidad de conservar y ampliar su conocimiento del idioma y cultura de origen, se recomienda establecer las estructuras y tomar las iniciativas apropiadas, especialmente en el caso de los niños más

pequeños (de menos de 10 años de edad) en el país de acogida, en colaboración estrecha con el país de origen. En ambos casos, debería dedicarse una atención especial a información y orientación del niño y de sus padres.

2. Habría que fomentar por todos los medios la colaboración entre las escuelas y los padres y ayudar a éstos, para facilitar a sus hijos el aprendisaje de la lengua del país de acogida.

3. Se recomienda que se contrate a maestros calificados del país de origen, siempre que sea posible residentes en el país de acogida y que posean los conocimientos lingüísticos indispensables para ayudar a las escuelas del país de acogida y que se tomen medidas para la formación de personal docente local especializado en la educación de los niños migrantes. Sería sumamente conveniente que se formara un cuerpo docente especializado que conozca la organización escolar y la cultura del país de origen.

4. Los países de emigración deberían tomar disposiciones para que se den a las familias que se proponen emigrar informaciones sobre la legislación del país de acogida, sobre todo en materia de educación. En la medida de lo posible, los países de emigración deberían hacerse cargo, iniciándola en la escuela primaria, de la enseñanza de cuanto menos uno de los idiomas principales del país de destino.

5. Se recomienda ampliar la red de establecimientos destinados a acoger a los niños inmigrados de edad pre-escolar. Esos establecimientos deberían acoger a los hijos de los migrantes, lo mismo que a los que nacieron en el país; los gastos y los horarios deberían conformarse a las necesidades y posibilidades propias de los migrantes.

6. Conviene adoptar una serie de medidas concretas, tales como crear colonias de vacaciones, bolsas de estudio y cursos de verano en el país de origen para conservar, adquirir o profundizar el conocimiento de la lengua y la cultura del país de origen de los hijos de los migrantes permanentes.

Problemas sociopsicológicos de los niños migrantes y conflictos culturales

CONCLUSIONES

1. El análisis y la investigación científica en la esfera de la sociopsicología de los hijos de los migrantes dan por resultado una gama de datos muy divergentes. Se hace sentir con mucho vigor la necesidad de reunir los resultados de esas investigaciones y de compararlos.

2. Puesto que las dificultades con que tropiezan los hijos de los migrantes para integrarse en la sociedad del país de acogida se deben a su situación económica, social y jurídica en dicho país, el Seminario llamó la atención sobre los peligros de una psicologización excesiva de los problemas de los hijos de los migrantes.

3. La suerte que puede caber a los hijos de los migrantes en el país de acogida está condicionada por:
(i) la posición económica y social de los padres en ese país;
(ii) la actitud de la sociedad del país de acogida;
(iii) les aspiraciones de los padres, según cual sea la causa que haya provocado la emigración;
(iv) la edad del niño al emigrar;
(v) el tiempo transcurrido desde su llegada al país de acogida.

4. El Seminario expresó su preocupación con respecto a la doble ambivalencia que existe hacia los hijos de los migrantes y que procede, por una parte, de la actitud de la sociedad del país de acogida y, por otra, de la incertidumbre que existe muchas veces en cuanto a la duración de su estancia en el mismo.

5. Esta doble ambivalencia tiene sobre todo una influencia desfavorable sobre el estado mental del niño y sobre las oportunidades que se le pueden ofrecer eventualmente, ya que los padres transmiten a los hijos sus incertidumbres y sus sentimientos de inferioridad frente a la sociedad de acogida. El sentimiento de no estar vinculado a nada puede conducir a la apatía, al derrotismo y a la agresividad.

6. Aun reconociendo que hay una gran semejanza entre la situación de los niños de las clases autóctonas desfavorecidas y la de los hijos de migrantes, éstos sufren además la inseguridad derivada de su condición de extranjeros, que entraña una doble pertenencia cultural. Por consiguiente, deben adoptarse para ellos medidas especiales que tengan en cuenta las posibilidades y las tradiciones del grupo y adaptarlas a ellas, con el fin de

estimular el proceso de socialización de los niños y de las familias de los migrantes.

7. Se recordó que la puericultura y la educación cultural están profundamente ligadas a los dos factores siguientes:
- el sistema familiar de socialización del niño;
- la forma de pensamiento de la sociedad a la que pertenece culturalmente.

8. Las finalidades implícitas de la educación en muchos país industrializados están centradas en el individuo y en su pleno desarrollo, en tanto que los mecanismos de educación de los migrantes de las regiones rurales están centrados más bien en la pertenencia a un grupo.

9. Hay que tener en cuenta el hecho de que esos mecanismos de educación constituyen la base de la cultura propia, ya que forman el espíritu del niño desde su más tierna infancia. fancia.

10. El pasar de un sistema educativo (el de la familia de los migrantes) a otro (el de la colectividad de acogida) puede entrañar frustraciones y perturbaciones para el niño, tanto como para la sociedad de acogida.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. Por lo que se refiere a la custodia de los niños, el Seminario estima que debe iniciarse una doble acción: ante todo, instalar buenos hogares diurnos que tengan suficientemente en cuenta las necesidades especiales de los hijos de los migrantes; después, para dejar a las madres que opten por quedarse en casa o trabajar afuera, considerar la posibilidad de ofrecer una ayuda financiera a la madre de niños de baja edad, como ya lo permiten algunos países. Esta posibilidad de elegir permitiría a la madre que establezca mejores relaciones con sus hijos liberándola de la obligación de trabajar únicamente por necesidad económica. Además, para evitar el aislamiento de la madre que se queda en su casa, se sugiere organizar cursos o reuniones que la ayudaría a adaptarse a la sociedad ambiente.

2. Como la mayor parte de los sistemas escolares no están concebidos para los niños de las clases sociales desfavorecidas, y menos aún para los hijos de los migrantes, el contenido de la enseñanza debe modificarse para dar al niño una imagen positiva de sus orígenes y no debe abrir un abismo entre padres e hijos. La enseñanza, y la educación deben, en consecuencia, contribuir a acrecentar la confianza del niño en sí mismo.

3. Para no aumentar el sentimiento de incertidumbre o inferioridad y evitar al niño trastornos psíquicos, la escuela debe poner de relieve el valor de la cultura de origen y de la lengua materna.

4. Para facilitar el proceso de adaptación social de los hijos de migrantes, deberían prestarles una ayuda complementaria los puericultores, profesores, asistentes sociales, etc., familiarizados con la cultura de origen de los niños.

5. Los educadores de los países de acogida deben:
(a) tener conciencia de que sus métodos de educación están vinculados a su cultura;

(b) comprender más a fondo los métodos de educación, haciendo referencia a la cultura de origen y a la significación de los vínculos culturales que unen al niño con su familia;
(c) darse cuenta de las ventajas e inconvenientes de la ayuda que se ofrece al niño.

6. Se invita a los países de acogida y a los países de origen a examinar las posibilidades de una cooperación mutua con objeto de organizar intercambios de educadores, trabajadores sociales y demás trabajadores vinculados a la emigración, siempre que sean conscientes de la situatión especial de los hijos de migrantes.

7. Se invita a la UNESCO, que ya ha organizado, con la colaboración del CIME programas de intercambio de educadores entre países de Europa y de Africa del Norte, a que continúe estos programas y prosiga estas experiencias también en otras regiones del mundo.

8. El Seminario recomienda asimismo que se incluya en el programa de enseñanza para los niños autóctonos y migrantes información sobre los diferentes aspectos culturales de los países de esos hijos de migrantes, a fin de mejorar la comprensión y fomentar el enriquecimiento recíproco entre los países de origen y los de acogida.

Problemas relativos a la migración clandestina de los niños

CONCLUSIONES

1. Los debates permitieron comprobar que se conoce muy mal el problema de los niños que permanecen ilegalmente en un país. Es un problema sumamente amplio que se plantea a un número considerable de jóvenes y que varía según los países y los continentes.

2. Puesto que los niños que se encuentran en situación ilegal no pueden, por definición, empadronarse, no es posible basarse en cifras y ni siquiera en los datos precarios de que se dispone sobre los trabajadores clandestinos, pues los trabajadores clandestinos no están siempre acompañados por miembros de su familia.

3. Es importante señalar que a pesar de estar ligada la situación de los niños en condiciones de ilegalidad al problema de los trabajadores clandestinos, existen elementos específicos que exigen llevar a cabo estudios detenidos, en materia no sólo jurídica, sino también socio-humanitaria, por una parte en el ámbito nacional para conocer la posición de los diversos gobiernos con respecto a la educación de los niños en situación ilegal, su protección social y, por otra parte, en el ámbito regional a fin de conocer mejor las condiciones en que viven estos niños.

4. El Seminario desea que, al tratar los niños en situación ilegal, predominen las preocupaciones humanitarias por los niños, cuyos padres no se encuentran forzosamente en situación ilegal.

5. En el debate se evocó la situación dramatica de los hijos de trabajadores en situación ilegal, criados en los países de inmigración y que llegan a la edad adulta sin poseer y sin poder obtener documentos que prueben su identidad o siquiera su nacionalidad. Estos jóvenes sin documentos de identidad carecen de los derechos más naturales como por ejemplo el de casarse.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. Conviene señalar a la atención de los servicios sociales la necesidad de prestar una ayuda especial a estos niños y sensibilizar la opinión pública y las autoridades competentes, tratando con ellas de encontrar las medidas concretas que pudieran tomarse para evitar que se expulse a los niños en situación ilegal, volviendo a destruir así la unidad de la célula familiar.

2. Sería conveniente que las autoridades y otras organizaciones interesadas en el problema, tanto en los países de salida como en los de acogida, proporcionasen a los trabajadores migrantes y a sus familias una información más completa, a fin de que pudieran conocer mejor sus derechos y evitar que sus hijos se encontrasen en situación ilegal.

3. Convendría que este tema figure en el programa del próximo Seminario, introducido por una serie de estudios sobre la legislación, la educación y protección social de los niños extranjeros que se encuentran en situación ilegal, tanto en el ámbito nacional como en el regional, con la cooperación de los organismos intergubernamentales y no gubernamentales interesados.

La situación de los niños migrantes y refugiados en relación con la Declaración de los Derechos del Niño

CONCLUSIONES

1. La Declaración de los Derechos del Niño, aprobada por las Naciones Unidas en 1959, ha de considerarse como una orientación para el futuro, si bien hay que darse cuenta de que hasta la fecha ninguno de los diez principios se ha aplicado como es debido.

2. Hace falta intensificar aun más los esfuerzos para lograr, mediante un control apropiado, la aplicación más completa posible de aquellos principios que puedan aplicarse con carácter jurídicamente obligatorio.

3. Ocasiones tales como el Año Internacional del Niño y el Seminario del CIME constituyen oportunidades importantes para examinar las medidas prácticas que pueden tomarse para lograr aplicar los principios formulados en los instrumentos ya vigentes, así como otros que se están examinando en diversos organismos internacionales.

4. El objetivo final que se trata de lograr es un sistema uniforme para todos los trabajadores migrantes que pueda aplicarse con carácter jurídicamente obligatorio, a fin de darles a ellos y, especialmente a sus hijos, los mismos derechos que disfrutan los trabajadores de la CEE y los miembros del Consejo Nórdico.

5. Los niños a los que se dejó en el país de origen y los que viven con sus padres deberían tener derecho a los mismos subsidios familiares, beneficios sociales, seguros de enfermedad y subsidios y becas de estudio que los niños del país de acogida. Todos los beneficios sociales de los hijos de trabajadores migrantes deberían poder transferirse de un país a otro.

Las necesidades especiales de los niños refugiados en los países de asilo temporal y de destino final

CONCLUSIONES

1. Es necesario revisar y codificar las leyes relativas a la inmigración, el sostén y la guarda relativos al reasentamiento de refugiados menores de edad no acompañados, para aumentar la eficacia de los programas de refugiados y lograr una planificación. Deberían proporcionarse textos oficiales sobre cuestiones jurídicas, redactadas en dos idiomas y sin emplear expresiones técnicas, a todas las personas interesadas en el reasentamiento, especialmente a los mismos refugiados menores de edad.

2. Las autoridades oficiales deberían asumir la plena responsabilidad jurídica por estos menores de edad y debería contarse con el apoyo de los gobiernos para su manutención, cuidados de salud y educación. Esta ayuda debería prestarse mientras fueran menores de edad y continuarse algunos meses después durante un período de transición.

3. Los gobiernos deberían sufragar los gastos de los servicios sociales para los menores refugiados, desde el momento de su acogida hasta después de pasar de la minoría de edad a la condición de adultos. Estos servicios deberían contar con personal profesional, calificado para encontrar hogares de acogida, orientar y aconsejar continuamente a los jóvenes refugiados, a sus padres adoptivos, a las autoridades escolares y a la comunidad en general. Debería prestarse ayuda a los jóvenes para adquirir el dominio del idioma nacional y una orientación para utilizar los servicios de educación.

4. Los programas deberían estar a cargo de organismos públicos y privados que tuviesen una experiencia especial en materia de servicios para los adolescentes, empleándose a este fin personal nacional y personal procedente del país de origen.

5. Para la colocación de los menores de edad, debería optarse por hogares de adopción, hogares de grupo o arreglos para proporcionarles una vivienda independiente, bajo supervisión, según las necesidades de cada niño.

6. No deberían escatimarse esfuerzos para obtener datos seguros sobre los menores de edad que hubieran de ser reasentados, mientras se encontrasen aún en los campos del primer país de asilo. Así será posible establecer una planificación anticipada para su bienestar. Con el fin de reunir estos datos, habría que recurrir a personal bilingüe, competente en materia de servicios sociales.

7. Para atenuar los recelos y el temor de lo desconocido, haría falta celebrar con los

menores, en el momento de su llegada al país de reasentamiento, una amplia reunión de orientación sobre su nueva situación, informándoles acerca de lo que se espera que hagan.

8. En todos los niveles, las autoridades oficiales deberían comprender y apoyar la estructura y la labor de los organismos privados nacionales. Debería mantenerse a esos organismos al corriente de los acontecimientos del país, animándolos a coordinar su labor con la de otros organismos. Los representantes de los organismos privados deberían tener la obligación de consultar a los organismos públicos y otros organismos voluntarios con respecto a sus programas y necesidades.

9. Los programas para menores no acompañados han dado resultados positivos. Ha tenido éxito especialmente el recurso a los hogares de adopción. Los jóvenes son sensibles a un trabajo de educación paciente, amistoso e inteligente. Con pocas excepciones, su trabajo en la escuela es satisfactorio, se adaptan de manera también satisfactoria a sus condiciones de vida y por lo general llegan a establecerse en situaciones independientes perfectamente normales. Mientras subsista la necesidad, se debería ayudar a los menores no acompañados a trasladarse a países de reasentamiento permanente.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. Habría que esforzarse por conservar los vínculos familiares o personales que el menor no acompañado pueda tener con otros refugiados - tantos si estos se encuentran aún en los países de primer asilo o si se está tramitando su traslado a otro país o están ya reasentados allí, siempre que se protejan debidamente los derechos del niño.

2. Se recomienda que se reúnan datos completos sobre los antecedentes del refugiado menor no acompañado en el país de primer asilo, para poder planificar de manera apropiada su reasentamiento. Es alentador que el ACNUR se haya declarado dispuesto a suministrar estos datos.

3. Se insta al ACNUR, a los organismos voluntarios y autoridades locales a que organicen servicios recreativos, así como la escolarización temporal, a fin de ocupar provechosamente a los niños refugiados durante su permanencia provisional, a veces prolongada, en los campos de los países de primer asilo.

4. Se recomienda que, en el momento de su llegada al país de reasentamiento, se informe que volviesen a reunirse con los padres o con un miembro de la familia al que se pudiese hecho para ellos, y se les diga lo que se espera que hagan.

5.* Las autoridades gubernamentales deberían asumir la plena responsabilidad jurídica y financiera per los menores no acompañados durante su minoría de edad y el período de transición a la condición de adultos.

6. No debería tomarse en consideración la adopción legal de los menores no acompañados sino en casos excepcionales, cuando se hubieran agotado todas las posibilidades de que volviesen a reunirse con los padres o con un mienbro de la familia al que se pudiese conferir la tutela y cuando ello se estimase conforme al interés del niño.

* Los representantes de la Argentina y del Uruguay expresaron reservas sobre el párrafo 5.

Expert Papers

Communications des Experts

Estudios de Expertos

Experts / Expertos

Adaptation and Integration of Migrant and Refugee Children
Adaptation et intégration des enfants de migrants et de réfugiés
Adaptación e integración de los niños migrantes y refugiados

W. DUMON	Professor of Sociology, Chairman, Sociological Research Institute, University of Leuven, Belgium.
G. FALCHI	Ambassadeur, ancien directeur général de l'émigration, Ministère des affaires étrangères, Rome, Italie.
A. EPPINK	Psychologue, président de la Fondation Averroès, Amsterdam, Pays-Bas.
G. ROCHCAU	Secrétaire de la Commission Internationale Catholique pour les migrations, Genève, Suisse.
E. UNDERHILL	Legal Officer, International Union for Child Welfare, Geneva, Switzerland.
I. WALTER	Director, Immigration and Refugee Service, Lutheran Council in the USA, New York, USA.

Adaptation and Integration of Migrants and Maintenance of their links with the Country of Origin

Adaptation and intégration des migrants et maintien de leurs liens avec les pays d'orgine

Adaptación e integración des migrantes y mantenimiento de sus vínculos con el país de origen

C. CASTRO ALMEIDA	Conseiller social au secrétariat d'Etat des Affaires étrangères et à l'Emigration, attaché à la Mission permanente du Portugal auprès de l'office des Nations Unies, Genève, Suisse.
J. CASES MÉNDEZ	Instituto Español de Emigración, Professor de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, España.
H. PEKIN	Research Expert, Research Board, Ministry of Labour,
D. STORER	Research and Social Policy Officer, Center of Urban Research and Action, Melbourne, Australia.
I.K. LINDENMAYER	First Assistant Secretary, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Canberra, Australia.

The Situation of Children of Migrants and their Adaptation and Integration in the Host Society, and their Situation in the Country of Origin

BY DR. W. DUMON

INTRODUCTION

As already was demonstrated in the First ICEM Seminar (1974), formulating a definition of migrant children is a hazardous task *(Dumon,* 1974, 270-271). Migrant children are in fact children of migrants although in some instances children may be migrants in their own right, such as in case of refugee children, who might even be orphans, or in some cases of intercontinental adoption. According to the migrant status of the parents and/or of the children respectively, quite different situations may be distinguished as is shown in Figure 1 on page 60.

These different types of migrant children represent quite different situations which will be dealt with separately. In a first part attention will be paid to children of migrants in the host country. The situation of the children who stayed behind will be dealt with in the second part of this paper.

The notion of children in itself is, by definition, linked with age categories. Referring to migrant children, however, the term 'second generation' is often used to give emphasis to the off-spring of migrants and to link the social situation of the children to the status of the parents. This paper will limit itself to young children aged 0-13/14 years, i.e. excluding adolescents, as was decided by the ICEM working group which prepared the Fourth Seminar.

The boundary between childhood and adolescence is not very clearcut and might differ from one country to another, from one culture to another. In the researches reported on here, the end of childhood usually coincides, either tacitly or explicitly, with the end of compulsory education, making for some difference in age groups. Childhood itself – roughly from 0 to 14 years – is obviously too broad a category, so that further subcategories have to be made. The researches on migrant children, however, are predominantly concerned with the education of migrant children, and only a few deal with preschool situations. As a result, only two categories will be distinguished in this paper: preschool age and school age. Again, children of preschool age are far too different to be put in the same category, but research on this group of migrants has only just begun to develop.

Figure 1
Differentiated status of migrant children

Parents staying in:	
Host country	Country of origin
Children left behind (with relatives/in institutions)	Return migration or family return

Children staying in:	
Host country	Country of origin
Children of migrants	
Children: (a) migrating with their parents or (b) rejoining them later	Children migrating without their parents e.g. refugees Family separation (children staying with mother/father Bilocal family
Second generation	
Children born in host country from migrant parents Children born from mixed marriages	Migrant children Children migrating for adoption purposes e.g. interracial adoption

Again, as Figure 1 shows, not all children of migrants, even those staying with their parents in the host country, can be put in the same category. It makes quite a difference whether the children are migrating with their parents or joining them (much) later; the length of family separation should be taken into consideration *(Rijk,* 1978, 8). It makes quite a difference – in many cases even a legal one – whether the children were born in the host country or in the country of their parents. Moreover, it might make some difference whether children were born from mixed marriages or from parents who are both migrants. While obviously these, as well as other factors, make for different situations, many authors do not clearly distinguish between them and tend to generalize by considering only the situations of migrant children. Still, this preliminary statement already leads to one conclusion. The situation of the children is dependent almost exclusively on their parents' situation. The children derive not only their status, but their social situation from their parents' social position. This is not merely an academic statement – it has policy implications. When trying to improve the conditions of children, the indirect approach may, in many instances, be the most direct one, i.e. improving the conditions of the parents, for instance by helping immigrants to overcome their initial problems *(Third ICEM Seminar, ICEM, 1977)* might indirectly deeply affect the situation of the children. This paper, however, will not deal with such indirect measures as improving housing conditions for instance, but will limit itself to direct measures. Still, it is so obvious that children are that much dependent on their parents' status that even children born in the host country are treated as migrant children because they are migrants' children. The mere expression 'born in the host country' *(Rijk,* 1978,8) offers a paradox in itself. It can only be understood by the link between parents and children.

Again, from this second preliminary statement, a conclusion can already be drawn. The position of children, especially the position of young children, should be studied not only from the angle of their education, but from the angle of their situation. The emphasis duly given to the importance of the education of migrant children should be paralleled and be preceded by emphasis on the situation of preschool children, more particularly to the home situation of the preschool children. Adequate measures here affect the results to be expected at school. From those two preliminary statements it follows that characteristics of migrant children, as well as the problem areas defined, can hardly be studied without referring to the situation of the parents. Anyhow, in this paper, the emphasis will be on the children's situation, and their parents will be dealt with only insofar as there is any relevance to the children's situation.

Characteristics of migration as related to migrant children

Place of birth. As indicated above, the place of birth can make a great deal of difference, legally speaking, for children of migrants. The Third ICEM Seminar (ICEM, 1977) recognized a clear distinction between two kinds of policies followed in this regard by immigration countries. A first policy consists of granting the nationality of the host country to any person born in that country, including the children born of parents of foreign nationality. (Example: the USA). In this case, as written before (Dumon, 1977), it is taken for granted that these children will have the same rights as other nationals and, consequently, no special services are established for migrant children. A second policy consists of not granting the nationality of the place of birth, but

establishing some sort of social services in order to facilitate the integration of the migrants into the country. (Example: most of the Western European countries).

In both cases, however, these children can be defined as second generation immigrants if we relate their position to that of their parents. Moreover, in most European countries, including Great Britain and Sweden, these children are regarded as immigrant children. Particulars on the situation in Great Britain were given previously *(Dumon,* 1974, 270). The Swedish definition adopted in 1977 reads in full: An immigrant child is a child coming from a home where either one or both parents are of foreign descent and do not speak Swedish as a native language (*Morfiadakis,* 1978).

In the late sixties many authors found a result that was surprising at the time, i.e. that second generation migrant children, as defined above, had to some extent even greater problems than the first generation. It has taken some time, for researchers and policy makers alike, to realize that children are born not into society at large, but into a particular family. Even at present, although this fact has been recognized for over a decade, no large empirical research has been carried out to investigate or map the implications of this situation. Still, most authors take the stand that children born in the 'host country' have a better start than the ones born 'abroad'. Two items have been given particular attention. One concerns citizenship. As stated above, in some countries they are given citizenship by the mere fact of being born in the country; in others it is a factor which enables them to apply for citizenship. As far as Europe is concerned, recently (30 September 1978) the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a recommendation 'to make it easier for young migrants, who so wish to acquire the nationality of the immigration country, when they have either been born or completed most of their schooling in it'. *(Recommendation* 841 (1978)). Secondly it has been claimed over and over again that education is most effective for the children born in the host country (e.g. *Rijk,* 1978, 9). In this respect the concept of 'place' can be replaced by 'age at migration', so that 'born in the country of origin' means 'age at migration: zero'.

Age at migration. As written previously *(Dumon,* 1974, 282), it is generally assumed that the age at which children immigrate is very important. Up to now it was readily accepted that the young child may more easily adapt to the new environment than the teenager. Although this statement has been made in general, research evidence is mostly concentrated on school results. This theory started with the publication of the largest available survey on immigrant children, a report of the Immigration Commission, U.S.A. 1911, which revealed that there existed an inverse relationship between age at immigration and school achievement.

Even in the early seventies, research by *Rutter* and others reported on previously *(Dumon,* op. cit., loc.cit.) gave support to this theory. Therefore, up to some years ago, the anticipation was that the younger a child was at the age of immigration, the better the chances of school achievement would be *(Inbar,* 1977, 219). Recently the age factor was given more attention and the implications of age seem to be somewhat more complicated than was generally believed until now. Renewed interest in this factor started from a finding by *Martan* in 1972 in which, contrary to expectation, younger brothers and sisters, including those of preschool age, exhibited at the time of immigration to Israel a surprisingly lower rate of successful schooling than the children who were fourteen years of age or older upon immigration.

Inbar and *Adler,* following up this serendipitous datum, confirmed the Martan study in Israel, France and Canada *(Inbar* and *Adler,* 1976; *Inbar,* 1977). They started

from the assumption that the older the child, the less the parents can help him directly with his schoolwork, irrespective of their country of origin. But the older the child, the more articulate he is and the more attention and authority the child commands inside as well as outside the family. Such factors combine to make older children better equipped than younger children to deal with school problems upon immigration. According in the very early years of immigration, in particular, the problems encountered by children of school age, especially grade school, are likely to be given low priority by many families or go unnoticed altogether. These children, in addition, are likely to have little or no school-related resources (i.e. peer tutoring). This hypothesis was only partly sustained by Inbar and Adler's investigation. Their results were unexpected but consistent. The variation was not linear but curvilinear, leading to the recognition of a 'vulnerable age', i.e. that the children aged 6-15 (in later research (Inbar 1977) this was narrowed down to 6-11 years) are likely to be more vulnerable to certain crises in their environment than either much younger or somewhat older children. These findings seem to be tentative and do hold better for male than for female children.

The old theory of the inverse relationship between age at immigration and adaptation potential should be refined. Although it remains true that young children are commonly found to learn a new language faster than older youths, intervening factors may make that some age groups, i.e. the 6-11 group, may be characterized as being more vulnerable. It is not clear yet why at that age boys seem to be even more vulnerable than girls. However, as is the case in many instances with new or unexpected findings, their importance is not unlikely to be overestimated. Anyway the so-called intervening factors, as hypothesized by Inbar and Adler, should be given more attention. attention.

Sex. In recent years attention has been paid to the effects of sex difference among migrant children. Evidence has been put forward that there is some discrimination against girls. More particularly two situations have been given more attention. A first is that girls are more housebound than boys, that they enjoy relatively less autonomy than their brothers. One of the explanations provided is that girls are defined in the first place as future brides and, to a certain extent, represent a family capital (*Baumgartner-Karabak* and *Landesberger*, 1978, 108). Two remarks should be made here: (i) These statements have been made regarding the daughters of migrant workers in Europe and no evidence has been given regarding (permanent) overseas migration. Secondly, these statements are made more particularly on emigrants from the Mediterranean countries and are sometimes connected with differences in culture between sending and receiving country. This is an important fact because it implies that such cultural differences may lead to heavy conflicts between parents having traditional value systems and girls being influenced by the culture of the receiving country (Baumgartner-Karabak and Landesberger, op.cit., loc.cit.). (ii) Most findings on discrimination of girls resulted from subjective studies, not from empirical ones. Such findings are not untrue but they tend to be less nuanced. Indeed, empirical studies conducted in France (*Abou Sada*, 1976) pointed to the fact that the social and cultural stresses on these youths made for family integration and stressed the primary importance of the family for the young migrant. The same study by Abou Sada a.o. clearly indicated a period which, in sociological terms, could be labelled as crisis period or 'transitional crisis' and which, according to French findings is often situated at the time of the migrant's entry into active life. The French authors attribute this situation to the awareness of their condition at that period. It should be noted that this applies

to both boys and girls. As a conclusion, it can be said that childhood, defined as the schooling period, seems to be less problematic than adolescence, as the latter is marked by the entry into the labour market or the completion of education.

The implication for childhood is important. It means that childhood and the schooling period are crucial for coping with or preventing problems in adolescence. The special situation of girls should be taken into account. Many instances are reported of girls staying out of school, even grade school (compulsory education), or staying at home after completion of elementary school, because they have to take care of the younger children and are more involved in domestic tasks than boys, all other circumstances being equal. Again, the rate of low or non-existent education among immigrant children, both boys and girls, is high (see below), but it is even greater among girls than among boys.

Family size. It has been noted over and over again that families of migrant workers tend to be larger than families of the host countries and certainly than families of the same economic status (blue-collar workers) in the host country (e.g. *Widgren,* 1976). The consequences of this situation on the demographic structure of some particular receiving or immigrant countries (e.g. France, Belgium) have been analysed to a certain extent. Many authors make a distinction between countries attributing demographic functions to their immigration policy and the ones defining it only in terms of labour market. As has been stated previously *(Third ICEM Seminar)* there is hardly such a thing as mere labour migration. Labour migration, even if defined as temporary, tends to become family migration after some time *(Dumon,* 1976, 58). The consequences of the birth rate of these families on the demographic situation have been given some attention. Less attention has been paid to the implications of the differentiated fertility on the children themselves. The number of the children in a family, however, lowers the standard of living. The so-called family budget studies have given very clear evidence of a sharp decline in economic wellbeing according to the number of children; this is even more dramatically so in blue-collar families. In this respect, children of migrants are disadvantaged in a number of ways. One is that they belong to a family structure and, more particularly, to a family size which may be functional for an agrarian society (family-production oriented) but disfunctional and disadvantageous in an industrialized society (consumption-oriented). These large families are not only disadvantaged as regards the consumption pattern; the whole array of social benefits and services, even the children's benefits, are geared towards relatively small families or at least to families of European size.

Note: It should be noted that existing statistical data on the number of children of migrant workers is of very poor quality and that, for many countries, estimates only are available *(Widgren,* 1976, 171). Yet, some attempts have been made, e.g. by *Charbit* (CIE, 1975) and various other authors. On actual family size, the evidence is even scarcer and less reliable. Figures on differential fertility are more accurate.

Problems of children of migrants

A whole variety of problems concerning very young children (infants) have been touched upon in the literature but few have been thoroughly examined.

Care of children (and nurturing behaviour). A first problem, recognized in the literature, is related to the inadequacy of the care given to babies in the host country. It should be noted that nurturing problems are related to extra-family conditions such as living in deteriorated districts of the cities, poor housing conditions, absence of kinship ties, etc., which consequently lead to a 'weaker' system of child care and which is even found in permanent migration to the Pacific Islands, for instance *(Dommen,* 1977). Next to these extra-family causes, intra-family causes are given. One is related to the fact that mothers apply the traditional methods which are functional in the country of origin but not adapted to the host country. Baumgartner-Karabak and Landesberger cite the case of babies in Berlin who were dressed very heavily as was customary in their home town, a rural place in Turkey, the difference being that the Berlin appartment, according to this report, was overheated *(Baumgartner-Karabak* and *Landesberger,* 1977, 105).

A group of French authors *(Cohen* a.o., 1975) put forward that parents coming from the Maghreb countries have a tendency to neglect certain fundamental needs of babies in the first months of their life such as psycho-motive freedom and that it is likely that they might fail to recognize the symptoms of beginning difficulties such as enuresis, retardation of speech, etc. On the other hand, they request urgent help for their children of school age, when difficulties become visible and troublesome, such as disorderly behaviour and educational problems (Cohen). In this and other statements it is often alleged: (a) that parents do not take proper care of the children because both parents go to work, the smaller children being tended by the other children, mostly their somewhat older sisters; (b) that these parents do not take full advantage (or do not take it in due course) of the existing social and medical services available *(ECICW,* 1978).

Empirical evidence is not abundant, but what available evidence there is draws a picture that is far more nuanced. As has been reported earlier (Third ICEM Seminar, 1977) *Haavio-Manilla* revealed that, as far as Finland is concerned, migrants, contrary to common belief, were even more likely to use and know of bureaucratic health and welfare organizations than the families born in the city or country of residence *(Dumon,* 1977, 122). More evidence has recently become available on the use of crèches by migrants. A recent survey on child care in Belgium revealed that the number or percentage of immigrant children in crèches almost corresponded to their share in the total population. They were only slightly under-represented by age category *(Presvelou,* 1977, 312-314). As to overseas migration some recent figures are available on Australia. Here the report does not show very dramatic differences in child care arrangements (children below the age of 12) according the birth place of the parents (Australian-born versus migrants). Still the report concludes that a smaller proportion of non-English speaking women used child care centres and preschools than the Australian population as a whole *(Migrant Service,* 1978, 95). This slight under-representation should be weighed against the fact that the proportion of married migrant women who work is greater, so that immigrant children ought to be over-represented in child care facilities. The relation between the need for and the use of services might give some explanation as to the apparent contradiction between subjective statements and the result of empirical research. Whereas subjective statements tend to suggest over-generalization of particular cases, workers in the field point to needs that are unmet.

Nutrition. In some subjective studies, dramatic cases of deficiency in nutrition are reported. Such problems are not entirely due to the lack of knowledge or information of the mothers; either can they be exclusively attributed to their belonging to a different culture. Although this factor is important and explains to some extent their pattern of behaviour, in some instances structural patterns play an important role such as the difference between nurturing and caretaking of an infant in an extended family versus a nuclear one. In the case cited above of Turkish mothers, it was reported that some children were taken care of by the daughter-in-law, as the mother was working outside the house. This was leading to nourishing problems since the daughter-in-law was not trained to give adequate bottle feeding. In the hometown children were in the permanent presence of their mothers, who fed them whenever the babies wanted it *(Baumgartner-Karabak* and *Landesberger,* 1978, 105).

Here again, the few empirical studies that are available and which only recently are being developed in this area, do reveal a far less dramatic situation. *Aksu* a.o., in an assessment of the nutritional status of Turkish migrant workers and their children (aged 0 months-18 years), concluded that children of migrant workers in Germany were less undernourished than their counterparts in Turkey. According to anthropometric findings, significant differences were found in height, weight and arm circumference between the migrant children in Germany and the control group in Turkey. As a result of the dietary survey, they found a considerable change in the dietary habits of the workers living in Germany. The type of foods consumed most frequently and in higher quantities has changed from cereal-based foods to foods of animal origin. However, the meals prepared still have the same characteristics as typical Turkish dishes *(Aksu* a.o., 1977). This last remark may point to the symbolic significance of food as a means of social or cultural identification, a fact recognized by many authors, *(Cohen* a.o., 1975, 315).

School-age children

Language and education. One of the problems most often mentioned in the literature is that the home language is not the language of the home country. Again it is a paradox that for the child the mother tongue does not coincide with the language of the country of birth. The same situation applies for children who moved with their parents. Again the cultural difference between home and the society in which the children live can impose conflicting demands on these children and, consequently, make for conflict between parents and children. As the topic has been mentioned previously *(Dumon,* 1974, 282-284), and is being treated more extensively in other contributions to this seminar, only one observation is made here, i.e. use of language at home reflects some of the problems related to the identity of the child who neither belongs exclusively to one country or to the other. For both the society and the children involved, it is difficult to discover the proper ways for recognizing this in-between-status and for helping the children to define their own identity. As to the children, many models can be distinguished on a continuous scale, ranging from over-identification with the host country to over-identification with 'home', even if home represents a country they have never seen.

In the same context, the relatively low degree of education among the children should be noted, at least among the children of immigrant workers in Europe. Some reports, such as the report by *Esenkova* on Turkish children in Germany, quote almost unbelievably high figures of children who, even at the age of compulsory school attendance, do not attend school. His estimates for the age bracket, 7-16 years, are

that only 11% of the children attend school. The reliability of such estimates is obviously not very high. Nevertheless, they point to the difficulties of a large number of children who, for one reason or another, are not integrated in the school system. For France, thanks to the CIE, CREDIF a.o., more reliable figures are available *(CIE,* 1975; *CREDIF,* 1978). As this very important problem is dealt with in other papers of this Seminar, it is mentioned here only because this education problem is the item most frequently cited by the authors dealing with the problems of migrant children. The point to be made here is that this problem, although very important in itself, must be viewed in relation to the family conditions if it is to be understood properly.

Deviance. Empirical research carried out in Switzerland by *Killias* has demonstrated that, contrary to popular belief, the deviance of immigrants tends to be lower than that of the native population. This is all the more remarkable as Switzerland has an extremely low deviance rate (Killias, 1977, 9). An American sociologist by the name of Clinard even attributed this low rate of criminality in Switzerland to the high proportion of immigrant workers among its lower classes (Killias, 1977, 6). Various theories have been offered to explain this lower rate. Some have proved more fruitful than others in accounting for the difference between immigrants and nationals on the one hand, and for the difference between children of immigrants and their parents on the other. The findings revealed: (a) that children of immigrants had higher delinquency rates than their parents; (b) that children of immigrants compared with children of nationals had lower rates in their childhood (defined here as between 7 and 14 years) but higher rates in adolescence (15 to 18 years). Killias offers a theoretical explanation. Children of immigrants, unlike their parents, have lower expectations of being able to withdraw from the structural tensions of the adaptation process, by re-emigration to the country of origin. Killias states that both structural and cultural factors constitute a handicap for return migration, meaning that children of immigrants are in some way strangers to the country of their parents. There is a second element. Insofar as children of immigrants do not have the expectation to reach social mobility (occupation, income), they will be inclined to replace these by other values such as conspicuous consumption or pronounced manliness. According to Killias, both factors increase structural tensions while, at the same time, children of immigrants have lower expectations of being able to withdraw from these tensions. As a result, higher delinquency rates, viewed as an anomic reaction, are to be expected (Killias, 1977, 14-17).

These difficulties will become acute in the transition from school to professional life, i.e., at the stage when the immigrant child can no longer withdraw into its nuclear family, but must orientate himself predominantly to the outside social world. According to Killias, the low social status of his parents, as well as his own insufficient education and training will lead to status frustration. As a consequence, it is likely that for many immigrant children, childhood passes relatively without problems, whereas adolescence (which is problem-prone in itself upon entry into professional life) is experienced as a crisis (Killias, 1977, 17). To this may be added that second generation immigrants, compared to the first generation, can develop very different evaluations of social difference between immigrants and nationals. First generation migrants are still able to compare their situation in the host country to that in the home country, and might take groups in or from the home country as reference groups, whereas second generation children, which by definition lack such a background, might more easily take national youths as their reference groups. This, too, can add to the structural tension theory put forward by Killias.

(a) Statistics on migrants, more particularly on migrant children are only partly available. Some have a low degree of reliability. The best figures are those available on Europe, and even these are deficient in many respects. For the future of each of these countries, for instance the ones that constitute the European region, the demographic impact of the immigrant population of young age – is considerable. Two sets of data should be distinguished here: (i) data concerning the flow of migration as well as the demographic components of the migrant population (birth rate, nuptiality, mortality, etc); (ii) data concerning the stock of migrant population, including such structural elements of the population as age structure, family size, etc. For many countries 1980 will be a census year. Although it is already very late, some steps might still be taken by governments, not only in collecting the data necessary, but also in analysing it. As has been pointed out in the previous Seminars, statistics are not only a factor of knowledge (cognitive factor) but one of attitude building, since the lack of data give rise to speculation.

(b) The discrepancy between the data obtained from subjective studies and those revealed by empirical ones points to the value of applied (empirical) research. Empirical research not only furthers knowledge but provides evidence on which policy making can be based. Two points should be made here: (i) the available research evidence is heavily concentrated on the situation in Europe and those other regions which are commonly described as 'the Western world'. For instance, research evidence on migration in relation to the topic of this Seminar – i.e. the situation of migrant children – is hardly available for the non-industrialized countries. Yet, in large parts of the world (Asia, Latin America, Africa, etc.), migration is an important phenomenon needing special attention, more particularly for the group which tends to have the weakest position: the children. (ii) The research available tends to be more repetitive than cumulative. This may be partly due to the fact that such research is produced through various and quite unrelated scientific disciplines and fostered by very different types of organizations (intergovernmental, non-governmental) and at very different levels (international, national, regional, etc.). As has been claimed by the Council of Europe, it would be most important to 'set up a (European) centre for documentation and statistics on international migration, to work in close co-operation with the centres in member States'. *(Council of Europe,* Recommendation 841, art. 11 ii)*.

(c) One of the converging findings, stemming from both subjective and empirical sources, is that there seems to be a sharp problem period for migrant children at the age of adolescence, the problems involved being sometimes, although not accurately, referred to as the problems of the second generation. Thus, childhood, for migrant children, seems to pose less (social) problems than adolescence. This, however, does not make childhood less important. On the contrary, next to the problems which are specific to adolescence, such as those connected with entry into the labour market, etc., many problems that become socially visible at the age of adolescence can be attributed and traced back to the situation in childhood (inadequate education, etc.). Focusing attention on young children (of migrants), therefore, might be the most appropriate way to prevent some of the problems that otherwise will emerge or become

* The term 'Europe' has been put between brackets by the author, because it could be envisaged to set up such a centre on an even broader basis or to have a regional centre (European) working in close relation with others at intercontinental level.

special problems anyway, such as those related to the growing awareness of their special situation. They should not, therefore, be handicapped by problems that could be dealt with in their childhood.

(d) The problems migrant children encounter are often attributed in the literature to their social environment such as housing conditions, etc. Therefore, in coping with the situation of the children, attention should be paid to their environment, more particularly to their family situation. As a consequence, this calls for the need that a child (welfare) policy should be integrated in a family (welfare) policy. In the literature, next to his situational context, many problems have been identified, most of them age-specific.

(i) For the very young children the measures are more mother-centred, while for the older ones they have to be more child-centred. Some authors stress the importance of 'educating' young and expectant mothers through social and welfare services. It is obvious that the need for the creation of these services or the development of new ones exists. However, it should be taken into account that it would not be necessary for the professional help providers to be exclusively nationals, the help receivers exclusively immigrants. Two solutions, which are very different in nature, can be envisaged in this respect. One is to have helping professionals as much as possible from the same ethnic group or from the same geographical origin as the immigrants themselves. (In the literature it is more and more clearly recognized that immigrants do not constitute one category). The second solution, which is not alternative, but complementary, consists of the stimulation of self-help provisions. Enabling the group to take care of itself, e.g., enabling wives, young mothers from the same origin or in similar situations to meet and take action is another solution which does not exclude professionals. The trend is to shift some emphasis from exclusive case work to neighbourhood work, settlement work, etc.

(ii) It should be kept in mind that voluntary work, such as the neighbourhood councils (in Australia), *'l'Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants'* (in France) and other voluntary agencies are very instrumental in helping immigrants to overcome their initial problems, more particularly at child birth, and new environmental conditions which are of almost vital importance for young infants or for their development, such as the different situation on the food market, housing facilities, etc. There is an additional profit involved in voluntary work. Already the very first ICEM Seminar stressed that any process of adaptation and integration requires not only the guest but also the host to take a step. Voluntary work involves the host community to the effect that the voluntary work is instrumental for the adaptation of the autochthonous population to the somewhat changed social and cultural environment created by the immigrants.

(e) As to children of school age, problems of language, education and cultural differences being treated in other contributions to this Seminar, only one item will be touched on here.

(i) The degree of education of migrant children tends to be unacceptably low. This is due to many factors. Many authors claim that this situation will lead to the fact that migrant workers will reproduce a second generation of migrant workers, i.e., that the children of migrants will remain at the low social status of their parents, not only in economical terms but also in cultural terms, i.e., strangers to the society in which many of them are born. Although there are reports on exceptions *(Campioli,* 1977), this calls for heavy emphasis on the education of migrants

and on special child guidance for the group of migrant children, even more so for girls than for boys. One element, that already has been suggested by the *Council of Europe* (1973), is the introduction of an international school booklet enabling a better coordination and continuation of schooling between the different countries.

PART II: CHILDREN OF MIGRANTS STAYING BEHIND IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

In the Second ICEM Seminar, strong emphasis was given to the problem of family reunion *(ICEM,* 1976). In one of the reports evidence was given that family reunion is not always without any problem *(Dumon,* 1976, 75). Nevertheless, at that moment and in the conclusion of the Second ICEM Seminar, family reunion as a moral right which should be turned into legislation was generally accepted *(ICEM,* 1976, 25). At the same time, evidence was given on the vulnerability of children staying behind and on the negative consequences of family separation. More specially attention was drawn to the negative effects of father absence for children *(Dumon,* 1976, 68-69). Recently new stands have been taken. It should be noted that the right of migrants (male and female) to migrate with their family, or family reunion (the right to be rejoined by spouse and children) has been stressed and is taken for granted.

As far as Europe is concerned, two developments can be noticed in this respect:
(a) Emphasis has been given to the situation of women and difference in legislation or legal provisions between male and female are defined as discrimination against women. For instance the *ECICW* cites the example of Belgium, where a woman can have her family rejoin her only if she has a work permit A (permanent), while a migrant male worker also enjoys this right with a work permit B (for restricted periods).
(b) The general policy towards family reunion is less permissive now (in 1979) than it was in 1975 (at the time of the Second ICEM Seminar devoted to Migration and Family Reunion). The restrictions applied are to the effect that children can still rejoin their parents for family reunion but that it has become more difficult for children of immigrants to migrate in order to take part in the economic process. Although some of these restrictions have already been weakened in many countries, the general policy remains somewhat more restrictive. As has been documented earlier *(Dumon,* 1976, 66) many of the regulations are not stipulated by law but belong to the discretionary power of the administration, implying that governments use family reunion provisions as one element to influence the labour market and as a factor of their employment policy *(Dumon,* 1976, 55).

The importance of the problem

The frequency of family separation as a consequence of migration has never been fully documented. As a result, neither the number nor the proportion of left behind children involved in migration can be estimated. Moreover, since migration is a dynamic process, it is very difficult to assess whether this separation is temporary or permanent and, in case of temporariness, it is difficult to estimate the duration of this interim-period. An attempt has been made to estimate the extent to which family separation occurred in the case of permanent migration to Venezuela. The sample size, however, was rather small (N = 250) and the results are outdated, going back to 1960. At that time there

was some evidence that the instances in which family separation occurred were rather high, involving about half of the group in the sample (47.6%) and concerning some 40% of their children (44%). This somewhat outdated study is mentioned here for the important finding that the younger children were overrepresented among the left behinds. About 65% (67.2%) of the children involved were below the age of seven *(Imber de Coronil,* 1970, 38-43). More recent studies on Central America and the Caribbean *(Laguerre,* 1975, 446) have documented that instances of family separation are very frequent. For instance, Laguerre reports: 'Migrants (from Haiti) to the U.S., Canada and to a certain extent to Mexico, France and Zaire have not been able, for many reasons, to bring their entire families with them. For many, their departures left broken homes behind them and the household in which they had been members went through structural changes. The problem they left behind is a real and complex one' (Laguerre, 1975, 446-447).

As far as Europe is concerned, estimates have been made by *Charbit.* He counts more than 2.2 million of children who are left behind and this figure does not include any emigration towards France from black Africa, nor the Finns in Sweden, nor any migration inside the Common Market countries. This figures is only cited here to give an impression of the importance as well as of the scope of the problem.

Problems of left behind children

Studies stressing the negative impact. L. Van den Berg-Eldering gave some detailed analysis on the problems created by family separation in Moroccan families (L. Van den Berg, 1978, 64-71). Reporting on the family situation in Morocco, she points out the difficulties 'separated' mothers with children encounter in the socialization process. According to her description, the responsibility for education and caring of younger children up to the age of eight lies with the mother. Up to that age children are rather housebound. Changes occur around the age of eight, marking a differentiation between girls and boys. The responsibility for the education (socialization) of boys shifts from the mother to the father. From that age on boys become less housebound and, due to the separation of sexes, only a male can supervise the behaviour of these children outside the home. In the case of absentee fathers (migrants) other males have to take over. In most cases the husband-father transferred the responsibility for his family to his father, his brother or his brother-in-law, who can be labelled as father-substitutes. In many cases this solution did not last or did not turn out to be satisfactory. Both the migrants themselves and their wives defined the situation as being eventually dissatisfactory. The migrant fathers were reported to have ambivalent feelings towards their oldest sons. On the one hand they found that the community might feel that their sons had high status because their fathers worked abroad, but on the other hand they were worried about the conspicuous consumption of their sons. The situation of the wife-mothers was very difficult. They lost power over their sons and were not able to control their behaviour outside the home. They were very well aware that the problems with their sons were connected with father absence. As a consequence it was the wife who, during her husband's holiday in Morocco, insisted on family reunion either in Morocco or the Netherlands, which resulted in some instances in family migration to the Netherlands. The importance of this finding is the fact that problems with the children, though not being the only cause, were defined as one of the major factors promoting family reunion.

Other authors, such as *Zamiti*, reporting on Tunisia, have stressed the negative influence of father absence on the psycho-affective development of their children (Zamiti, 1977). This author stressed the importance of two phenomena which are not unrelated: (i) the confusion of the wives of migrants having to take over new roles (substituting for the head of the household), and (ii) the feeling of being abandoned, which is felt by most of the children interviewed after the father has left (*Zamiti*, 1977, 7).

As far as Europe is concerned, the oldest evidence on problems of children left behind in the home country relates to Yugoslavia and lately, thanks to the CIE *(Charbit*, 1978), the problems of these children have been better recognized. The earlier studies on Yugoslavia were rather problem-oriented and stressed the negative aspects of family separation *(Majusevic*, B. and *H. Teparic*, 1970; *Dumon*, 1976, 69).

Studies stressing positive aspects. Lately there has been a great shift in positions and some authors, such as *Katunarić*, give emphasis to the positive aspects of family separation, which in many instances would be more beneficial for the children than migration (*Katunarić*, 1978). It is important to notice that this positive approach is even reflected in the terminology. The term 'bilocal familes' is replacing 'separated families' and has other connotations than 'broken homes'. The basic hypothesis of *Katunarić's* empirical investigation on bilocated migrant families was that this type of families are an obvious product of 'temporariness' and that the psychology of 'temporariness" deeply colours the working atmosphere or the climate in a family. It was assumed that, more particularly for the children, this atmosphere is an important factor. The research question was: Are children capable of accepting the temporary absence of parents or do they directly perceive only the incompleteness of their family and not the temporary nature of this situation (*Katunarić*, 1978, 89).

This research revealed that, in bilocal families: (i) changes in the family and in the behaviour of the children were less noticeable in rural areas than in non-rural areas; (ii) there is no significant difference in adaptation to the new situation between older children (14-18) and younger ones (7-13) as measured by their school results; (iii) the situation is generally more stable in the extended family (large households) and the children are better protected than in a nuclear family (small households); (iv) the higher the social origin and educational level of the parents, the greater the chance of marital conflicts and the higher the child's social aspirations (*Katunarić*, 1978, 95-96). The main hypothesis stated above has been only partially confirmed. In fact it has been established that the child is most seriously handicapped when family-disintegration occurs (e.g. in instances when the mother leaves for abroad or when the parents are divorced). Even in the bilocal model 'only the father abroad', which generally shows the most favourable situational characteristics, children sometimes show inconsistant behaviour (*Katunarić*, 1978, 104-105). Katunarić explains this in terms of his hypothesis, i.e. that a child finds it difficult to become involved in the family strategy; it cannot accept the fact of its parents' 'temporary' absence as a guideline to gear its behaviour. The conclusion, however, is that nevertheless a child shows a certain degree of psycho-social tenacity. Neurotic disturbances are rare. Social indicators of adaptation (success at school as well as behaviour) are also more favourable than under migration conditions. The author states that familiarity with surroundings is the basic condition for successful adaptation of an individual. Children who emigrate abroad with their parents for instance, lack this condition. Acquaintance with the surroundings also prevents that frustration in children becomes a real social handicap (*Katunarić*, 1978, 105).

This research is remarkable because it has been put in a wider context in which migration should be more beneficial to the sending countries and not only to the host countries. Bilocation is here put as a phase in a cycle consisting of two stages: (i) a stage of disintegration in structure or function of the family, i.e. the beginning of the bilocate pattern as a surrogate, a disintegration stage, which is temporary, and (ii) the stage of reintegration to which characteristic innovations are attributed, for instance the rising economic welfare of migrant families. It is hypothesised that the family which is reunited, following the return from abroad of one or more members, begins a life that is qualitatively different from the one they lived before emigration. Such families continue to enjoy greater economic prosperity, have a mainly consumer style of life and have, in all probability, more ambitious expectations for their children (Katunarić, 1978, 106).

An earlier study of the same research institute by *Baućić* came to exactly the same conclusions. Negative effects are more unfavourable in small families, in urban settlements, when both parents are abroad or if the mother is abroad. They are also more serious in those regions which have no tradition of seasonal employment outside the region. *Baućić* concludes: 'If the unfavourable effects of external migration are regarded from the stand-point of alternative possibilities of the children's departure for abroad, we can come to the conclusion (from what we have learned so far) that the effects are less unfavourable for the children that stay at home than for those that join their parents abroad' (*Baućić*, 1977, 13).

Discussion and conclusions

(a) The number of left behind children, both in case of permanent as well as 'temporary' migration, are considerable and attention has only recently been given to the importance of this group. The statistical information available relies on estimates and accurate data is lacking. These data can only be obtained by large research surveys. A more appropriate way would be to include elements to that effect in the next census. This information is necessary for many purposes, one being to have better knowledge of the migration phenomenon, which in turn constitutes a basic element for any policy-making in that respect.

(b) The studies converge on one point, that left behind children pay a price when their parents migrate. There is conflicting opinion as to the lower price: either migrating with parents or, under certain conditions, and only in the case of temporary migration, staying behind. The latter solution is very interesting, also from a theoretical point of view, because it points to the problems of the double identity of migrating children. The solution proposed here is to avoid having children pay that price. Also from a policy-making point of view, this alternative is important because it reintroduces the notion of temporary migration whereas, in the last years, scientists and policy-makers alike have come to the conclusion that there was no such a thing as mere temporary labour migration *(Dumon*, 1977).

(c) On the status of left behind children in the case of permanent migration, there is almost no documentation available. The scarce sources at hand point however to the fact that this is a serious problem which not only needs further investigation but attention from policy-makers at national and international level. Again, only knowledge of the facts can lead to appropriate action and, vice versa, only the determination to take action in this respect is conditional for research to be developed in this field.

Note: Neither the situation of children who can be considered as migrants on their own, nor the situation of returned migrant children, nor the one of children born of mixed marriages (cf. Figure 1, p. 60) have been dealt with here. This paper has limited itself to children of migrants. It should be noted, however, that these three groups deserve great attention, more particularly since all three groups are becoming more important, even in sheer number. Some categories, such as children born from mixed marriages, may not represent the most problem-prone category, the occurrence of mixed marriages being one criterion of integration and adaptation. Still, it would be interesting to follow even that phenomenon, not for the mere sake of knowledge, but to be able to take preventive measures. Up to now, social research has a tendency not to start investigation until the problems already have reached a point of no return.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. The situation of the children of migrants, either moving with parents or staying behind, points to the great social costs involved in migration phenomena. Where previously, until the late sixties, the child was seen as a positive factor in the adaptation and integration process which, to a certain extent, is a fact, since the mid-seventies emphasis has been reversed to the cost children pay in the immigration movement.

2. This growing awareness of the effects (positive and negative) of migration on children, has not yet been paralleled by a permanent system of observation of their problems nor by an appropriate and coherent policy to cope with these problems at local, national and international levels.

3. New types of immigration situations for children are occurring, such as return migration, children of mixed marriages, etc., to which some attention has been given only recently. Other groups, such as children of clandestine migrants, children of political refugees and others, which are being taken care of by social agencies such as the non-governmental national and international organizations, are becoming of such magnitude that they deserve more attention and that a general overview of the total situation is overdue.

REFERENCES

Abou Sada, G., a.o., *La condition de la deuxième génération d'immigrés. Enquête explorative auprès d'un échantillon de jeunes Maghrebins et Portugais du Departement du Nord.* Lille, CRESGE, 1976.

Aksu, F. a.o., *An assessment of nutritional status of Turkish migrant workers and their children.* Paper presented at ICC, international conference, Ankara, June 7-10, 1977 (Doc. RTM/EP 7).

Baućić, I., *Children of migrant Workers in Croation schools,* 1977 (ICC, Doc. ETM/EP10).

Baumgartner-Karabak, A. and G. Landesberger, *Die Verkauften Bräute. Türkische Frauen zwischen Kreuzberg und Anatolien,* Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1978.

Bohm, I., *The situation of women migrants and families of migrant workers in Europe,* 1978 (ECICW. Doc. CE/78/12 a).

Campioli, G., 'Enfants migrants et réussite scolaire: les exceptions', *Recherches sociologiques,* 8 (1977), 2, 245-273.

Charbit, Y. (ed.), *Les enfants des migrants en Europe. Santé – Scolarité – Adaptation sociale*, Paris, ESF, 1974.
Id., 'Les enfants des migrants en Europe', *Les Carnets de l'Enfance* (1975) 31, 74-94.
Id., *Statistical and demographic data on left behind children and returned children*, 1977 (ICC. Doc. E E/EI 1).
Id., *Les Enfants de migrants et les pays d'origine. Colloque International, Ankara 7-10 juin 1977*, Paris, CIE, 1978.
Cohen, M., a.o., 'Experience de travail de groupe auprès de femmes jeunes du Maghreb récemment installées en France', *Sauvegarde de l'Enfance*, 30 (1975) 5/6, 311-318.
Dejardin, C., *Report on second generation migrants*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1978. (Committee on Population and Refugees – Doc. 4205).
Dommen, E., 'Migration and the money chase', *People*, 4 (1977) 2, 21-22.
Dumon, W., 'Educational Adaptation of Permanent Migrants', *International Migration*, 1/2 (1974) 270-300.
Id., 'Family Migration and Family Reunion', *International Migration*, 14 (1976) 1/2, 53-83.
Id., 'The activity of voluntary agencies and national associations in helping immigrants to overcome initial problems', *International Migration*, 15 (1977) 2/3, 113-126.
Rijk, J.T., 'The problem of second generation migrants in the Netherlands', *Migration News*, 27 (1978) 1, 8-14.
Roosens, E. *Omtrent de achterstelling van immigranten in België. Een anthropologisch rapport in opdracht van de Europese Economische Gemeenschap*. Leuven, Acco, 1978.
Van den Berg-Eldering, L., *Marokkaanse gezinnen in Nederland*, Alphen a/d Rijn, Samsom, 1978
Widgren, J., 'The Social Situation of Migrant Workers and their Families in Western Europe', *Studi Emigrazione*, 13 (1976) 42, 159-201.
Zamiti, M., *L'influence de l'absence du père sur le développement psycho-affectif des enfants de migrants* (1977), (Cie, Doc.).

Education of Migrant Children including Guidance and Language Training

BY G. FALCHI

ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

The present Seminar deals with the adaptation and integration of permanent immigrants. The following paragraphs are therefore basically concerned with the schooling needs – and the educational needs in general – of children up to the age of 15 whose families have left their country of origin with no intention (at least in principle) of returning thereto.

The sociology of migration, however, has taught us that the *animus migrandi* is subject to unforeseeable pressures and to quite frequent mutations. More than half the migrants who have become permanent immigrants were at the outset candidates for temporary migration. Others who, on the contrary, had left their country for 'final' emigration have returned after a few years' absence.

Moreover, the greater mobility of labour, resulting from the ever-increasing facility of communication and from rising incomes (salaries in particular) is creating a category of 'permanent temporary' migrants, i.e. workers who leave the host country but return after spending a more or less long period in the country of origin. Accordingly, it is only at the end of a cycle that it is possible to estimate whether a particular migratory movement has been permanent or else purely temporary.

This situation naturally does not help to frame the broad outlines of an educational policy intended for children whose immigration can be regarded as permanent only as a hypothesis. It is therefore advisable, when examining the concepts, needs and methods in the matter, not to be formalistic but to adopt rather a pragmatic and flexible approach – particularly since the subject-matter studied appears quite heterogeneous even in the case of migratory flows which are assumed to be permanent.

The children of migrants may be subdivided into three broad categories:

(a) children born in the host country, or who were below school age on arrival in that country;

(b) children born in the country of origin who have migrated before the age of 15, i.e. when of school age;

(c) children – whether born in the country of origin or in the host country – who have experienced, before ending in the school of the country of immigration, a sort of cultural or geographical pendular movement.

These three groups have certain experiences and certain needs in common; these are experiences and needs peculiar to the status of migrant. They are combined with individual factors connected with the particular circumstances in which the person concerned has lived the experience of migration.

Children who are born in the host country, or who arrive there at a very early age,

create in their family cell a whole series of problems which affect their relations with their parents and particularly the mother-child relationship. The fact that an ever-increasing number of immigrant mothers now work outside their homes renders it essential (for logistic, educational and other reasons) to make special arrangements for these children: the best solution would be to accommodate them in day-nurseries while their mothers work. Unfortunately, in practically all the countries of immigration, such facilities are far from being available – either in the necessary numbers or of the necessary quality – to meet the specific needs of migrant families. Besides, they are nearly always unduly expensive and very often do not cover the whole length of the parents' working day so that the child has to be entrusted to another family of the same nationality or to a local family. All this can lead to situations of conflicting emotions and can sow confusion in the original family structure. The children concerned, once they have learnt to speak a language, have a tendency to hybridize and to confuse verbal forms; sometimes they do not manage to speak any language properly or they take refuge in silence with extremely harmful effects not only from the linguistic point of view, but also on their school careers.

Children who arrive in a country of immigration between the ages of 3 and 14 years suffer not only from the above-mentioned ills, but also and chiefly from what might be termed an 'uprooting crisis' as a result of their uprooting not only from their natural and climatic background, but also from their socio-cultural and emotional background. There is thus a danger of destroying the child's system of relationships and connexions, even if they are still only inchoate, with his models of behaviour towards both the physical environment and the human and social environment. If we add to this the sudden emergence of obstacles or brakes in linguistic communication, these factors – if they are not immediately corrected by suitable socio-educational conditioning – lead to very dangerous situations of incommunicability and psychological asthenia.

Lastly, there is the problem of children periodically left in (or brought to) the country of origin (often with the mother, with grand-parents or in institutions) who arrive in, or return to , the host country. Both in their daily life and in the matter of the educational needs, they suffer from all the difficulties described above. They are 'pendular' children, in view of their more or less rhythmic movements from one country to another. This 'pendularism' destroys the traditional, cultural and sentimental values and produces a general feeling of alienation. Even children who surmount these difficulties in a positive manner are deeply conscious of the difference of their lives and they need special school and psychological contexts in order to move the centre of gravity of their ego from alienation to participation.

Going beyond the cases discussed so far, and bearing in mind the difficulty of drawing a distinction *a priori* between permanent and temporary migration, we find that there are other differential parameters which exert and influence on the choice to be made in tackling the problems of education of migrant children, including guidance and language training.

It is enough to reflect on the profound differences which exist between, on the one hand, migration between two countries sufficiently similar in culture or in linguistic roots (languages of the same Latin family, for example) and, on the other, migration between countries that are completely different in mentality, traditions and cultural and idiomatic structures.

It is likewise sufficient to draw attention to the differences which, from the educational point of view, arise not only from subjective disparities among young persons (intelligence quotas, aptitude to commit themselves, etc.) but also, for example, to the

actual extent to which the child concerned has mastered the language of the country of origin (as distinct from a dialect) and to the cultural level of the family cell.

All this suggests great caution in arriving at any conclusions. The problems of the education of migrant children have so many aspects and parameters that unduly rigid or excessively general formulas must be avoided, if they are to be tackled with success. They must, on the contrary, be approached with sufficiently flexible structures and, in particular, with operators who are highly sensitive and who are capable of grasping the whole range of problems and motivations involved and at the same time are not afraid of adopting the solutions best suited to a particular case.

THE DUALITY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL TIES: ITS DISADVANTAGES AND ITS LIMITATIONS

The normal thing is for children to learn at school the same things as at home and for their teachers to strive to maintain a sufficiently uniform atmosphere as between home and school. The influence of adults on the earliest guidance received by the native child is sufficiently univocal, whether it proceeds from teachers or parents.

For the children of migrants, however, the opposite is almost the rule: the principles and motivations prevailing at school often contrast – when they do not actually conflict – with the living traditions of the home. A synthesis of the two is of course desirable when possible, but this requires nearly always a very long time.

The immigrant child is, in point of fact, immersed in a family world that reflects the difficulties which his parents have had – and still have – to overcome: sentimental or cultural wrench, traumatic experience of adaptation to the environment and to work, language difficulties in communication, frustrations due to acts of discrimination which are sometimes imaginary but which are often quite real. A recently immigrated family, however, is in no position to overcome these difficulties: the family cell accordingly lives immersed in apprehensions, upheavals and tensions with the outside world, and in their repercussions on the home atmosphere.

The immigrant child feels very deeply this situation of latent conflict, this constant uncertainty. In his process of maturing, in his natural urge towards the society of his fellow humans, he suffers from this barrier of contrasts.

It is therefore to be feared that the child's natural urge towards selfdetermination will only be fulfilled with very great difficulty or that it may even be replaced by physical atonality and by the absence of the capacity for intellectual reaction, for the child has to face not only the very real problems presented by any process of growth but also the overvalued or undervalued image of the surrounding reality as transmitted to him through the – sometimes distorting – prism of the family cell.

All this is usually aggravated by the fact that both parents are absent for nearly the whole day and that when they return home – with only one clear sensation: that of exhaustion – they are incapable of having any deep-seated relations with their children.

Torn between his natural tendency to live the life of his society – which is that of the children of his own age – and a certain sense of solidarity with the world to which his family tries to cling, the migrant child is thus subject to many frustrations which consume or paralyse his ego.

There has, of course, been plenty of discussion on these problems, which have such a great impact, both human and social. Politicians and educationalists, as well as the leading multilateral organizations, have thus come to accept – mainly under pressure

from the countries of emigration – the concept of a duality of socio-cultural ties as a sort of happy condition which should be preserved 'in the interests' of the child (we would say rather that it is more often at his expense).

It should be explained that there can be no question of disputing the principles in the matter, which are excellent. It is rather the mode and the calendar of their application which call for critical revision.

Let us first try to summarize the main lines of the philosophies underlying the education of migrant children and their language training: they all attach great importance to the gain resulting from the acquisition of a dual culture and the mastery of two languages. The child is thus expected to learn the new language and acquire the new culture while maintaining (acquiring, it would be more accurate to say) the language and culture of the country of origin. Certain very widespread slogans illustrate these views: 'If we want them (the migrants) to absorb our culture, they must keep their own', etc.

Undoubtedly, the defence of one's own cultural heritage is a sacred duty: it constitutes an integral part of Human Rights. It is also true that the appreciation and assimilation of the cultural heritage brought in (even in a rudimentary shape) by the inflow of migrants is a source of genuine enrichment for the host countries. It is sufficient in this respect to reflect, for example, on the results of the enlightened pluriculturalism of Canada.

RECENT EXPERIENCE – DESIRABLE REVISIONS

In the matter of education, guidance and language training for migrant children, there has been perhaps a tendency to be unduly impressed by high-sounding principles and to lose sight to some extent of the needs and practical possibilities of the children themselves.

One thus finds with surprise that some countries of emigration, supported occasionally by prestigious multilateral or intergovernmental organizations, endeavour to obtain from the host countries their backing and their financial contributions for the teaching of the language and culture of the country of origin, even before a solution is found to the urgent and priority needs of the immigrant families in respect of training in the local language (with all the specialized assistance which this implies), of the integration of the children in the local school system without trauma or loss of a grade, and particularly of the availability – in quantity and in quality – of suitable institutions for pre-school education, which constitute the most natural and the most effective means of promoting the integration of immigrant children not only in the school system but also in the social system of their new environment.

It is therefore perplexing to see certain important international initiatives that put on the same footing the need – which to our mind should have absolute priority – for training in the local language and schooling and the need to maintain the language and culture of origin.

Let us be clear on this point: it is desirable – and also possible in the long run – to maintain a balance between these two preoccupations, but it does not seem advisable to impose upon the child, during the very delicate phase of his initial installation, a double effort – not only intellectual but also and chiefly psychological – in order to endeavour to attain simultaneously two separate targets (acquisition of the local language and culture; maintaining the language and culture of origin): it is absolutely necessary to show a better sense of priorities.

We therefore find unsatisfactory and somewhat far-fetched certain recent solemn declarations, such as that adopted by the *Ad Hoc Conference on the Education of Migrants*[1], which mentions among the essential objectives in the matter that of offering to migrants and their children the possibility of acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the language and culture of the host country as well as those of the country of origin, in order to develop their personality.

The position for the children is, in fact, that they must acquire not just a 'sufficient knowledge' of the language and culture of the host country but rather a perfect knowledge from the outset and within the shortest possible time, this is an indispensable preliminary condition for a successful school adaptation and social integration. It is also an inescapable prior requirement to avoid serious blocks and grave frustrations in the face of the language and psychological barriers which they encounter on their first contact with the new school and social reality of the host country.

Since it is not possible to do everything at once – as many an adverse experience has shown – it is desirable to separate what is essential from what is merely desirable, in accordance with a strict scale of priorities: the child brought to a new country by the process of migration requires first of all that every effort should be concentrated – so strongly that it cannot but be exclusively – on training in the local language and on local school guidance.

In the initial stage, the combination of tuition in several languages and several cultures leads to mental strain, confusion, disarray and asthenia – all the more so since only a small fraction of the total number of migrant children really know from an early age the language of their country of origin (the language, not a dialect).

It is therefore essential that, in that first phase, all the available time and means should be allocated to training in the local language and on the intensive assimilation of the local culture through the agency of the school.

It is only on completion of the first stage (perfect assimilation of the local language and school culture) that one should proceed to the stage of ambivalent instruction (inclusion of lessons on the language and culture of the country of origin).

Any other manner of proceeding – and this is unfortunately a frequently observed phenomenon – leads only to the training of illiterates in the two languages concerned or, if one prefers, to a 'semi-lingualism', to frustration at school in respect both of results and of 'participation' and to loss of opportunities for migrant children with regard to their subsequent school careers and – which is much more serious still – with regard to their vocational prospects.

It is striking, in this context, to note that the countries of emigration, which are rightly concerned at the handicap often experienced *(de facto* at least) by young migrants when trying to gain access to higher education and hence to the leading professions so as to escape from the 'proletariat pool', nevertheless do not realize that this handicap is the result – albeit indirectly and only partially – of the insistence with which they have been favouring the teaching of the language and culture of origin as from the moment when the child arrives in the host country.

This insistence on trying to attain an objective which is very commendable but which comes only second in point of time, provides host countries with a ready excuse to avoid doing everything possible (and directly dependent on them) to place the migrant child, in a minimum of time and by means of specific measures, on a footing of perfect equality of opportunity with his native fellow pupils.

This increase in the school load at the least appropriate moment (difficulty in over-

[1] Resolution No. 2, Stockholm, November 1972.

coming the language, psychological and cultural barriers to the child's first contact with the new school), combined with the effects of dual concentration, influences, moreover, the results obtained by the migrant school child in the new context and has sometimes negative repercussions on his whole school and vocational career.

To give a concrete example, a host country may find it advantageous to accede to the request by a country of emigration that its migrant schoolchildren should be exempted from certain lessons and that these lessons should be replaced by 'lessons in the language and culture of origin', instead of having to organize the complex and costly machinery (adjustment classes; supplementary lessons; adequate network of pre-school structures and equipment, etc.) which is necessary to achieve in the shortest possible time the integration – in school and in society – of migrant children and to ensure thereby that they will be fully competitive at the level of higher education and in the labour market.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Training in the language and culture of the host country

The central consideration in the matter of education, guidance and training in languages for the children of permanent migrants is that priority must be given to the efforts to make these children assimilate as rapidly and as completely as possible the local language and the curricula of the host country's schools.

An essential condition for attaining this objective is the existence of the closest co-operation – i.e. authentic joint responsibility and joint management – between the country of origin and the host country in all matters relating to the financing, selection and training of teachers. Obviously, there are some responsibilities which are peculiar to each of the two countries concerned; these will be discussed later but the main measures to be taken call for a bilateral effort – often even a multilateral effort carried out through the leading international organizations concerned.

In the country of origin. Before the departure of the migrants, the countries of emigration should ensure – much more than they do at present – as from the primary school stage, *the teaching of at least one of the main languages of emigration in those regions of their territory where the proportion of prospective expatriates is greatest.* Regions which are the source of abundant migratory flows are usually also regions where tourism constitutes an important economic resource. Foreign languages therefore represent, for a large portion of the local population, an essential professional capital: accordingly, the responsible authorities should introduce much broader programmes for the teaching of the main languages (either within the framework of the official curricula for primary schools, or side by side with those curricula) intended for the total child population, part of which can be expected to have to face either the problems of emigration or the exigencies of employment in the tourist professions.

Special measures should be taken to facilitate training in the language of the country of destination *for the benefit of children whose family has already taken the decision to emigrate* (the most frequent case is that of a father leaving first to prepare the transfer of the family later). Special courses of study – in extreme cases individual tuition – should always be available for children who find themselves in this situation.

The countries of emigration should always accept foreign diplomas as equivalent to

their own ones. All too often, in fact, it is the fear of the complications and delays inherent to the procedures for the recognition of foreign diplomas in the country of origin, which leads parents to demand the setting up of a small national school which issues diplomas that can be used directly in the country of origin, but which often constitutes a ghetto without adequate outlets to the host country.

In the host country: pre-school education. If it is desired that the country of origin and the host country should be able to join and co-ordinate their efforts adequately, it is essential to rule out from the school policies in favour of migrant children all ambivalencies and 'dual objectives', one aspect of which interests the country of origin and another the host country. In such a delicate matter, the only thing that counts is the interest of the child, an interest which rests primarily in the child's insertion in the school, social, economic and professional system of the host country.

In this field, *'ethnic' primary schools,* which parallel the schools of the host country, are believed to be *useless* if not harmful; these schools are often more a hindrance than a help to immigrant children in the indispensable process of integration. The existence of such institutions could be justified in extreme cases (a) if they are confined to areas where migration is certain of not being permanent; (b) if they are converted later into authentic 'two-way schools'.

If it is really desired to accelerate and intensify the efforts aimed (in a first phase exclusively) at giving the migrant child a real opportunity to incorporate himself fully into the local socio-scholastic environment, then obviously a series of structures and initiatives will have to be set in motion to that end in the host country, but always in close co-operation with the country of origin. In order to avoid lengthening unduly the present communication, only a summary will be given here of this body of structures and initiatives. The discussions of the Seminar will perhaps favour the carrying out of more thorough and more detailed analyses.

As already stated above, there is an essential need to make available to immigrant children of pre-school age institutions whose structures and opening hours ensure that the children can be looked after during the whole of their parents' working day while receiving at the same time a spontaneous training in the local language. These institutions could, to begin with, make use of the language of origin of the children as the vehicular language of instruction and employ a mixed staff of teachers (and specialists in pre-school teaching and in day-nurseries) whose parents or grand-parents origi-
socio-vocational integration of the children.
means of providing a natural and effortless training in the local language; at the same time, it ensures the assimilation of all the psychological elements that will facilitate the sociovocational integration of the children.

Recent studies of the *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),* carried out by one of its specialized organs – *the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)* – have revealed an alarming trend towards isolation which affects children in general:

'Children are being increasingly confined to institutions which are reserved exclusively for them and which keep them apart from the adult world.

Children are being increasingly separated from their parents and from the other members of their families because the necessity to work obliges the adult members of the family to separate themselves from the children.

Children are increasingly isolated because organization of the family structure is altering and the number of single-parent families is constantly increasing.

A child is now even separated from other children because the number of children per family is decreasing; in certain of Europe, children are actually being eliminated from the social framework'*
(or rather, the socio-cultural framework which they require is disappearing, e.g. parks, playgrounds, etc.). In these circumstances, what can the position be for the children of migrants, refugees or illegal immigrants? For them and their families, day-nurseries and kindergartens are more essential than oxygen.

Apart from the humanitarian duty which is absolutely imperative in the matter, there is – both for the host country and for the country of origin – a didactic and sociological interest in having good pupils tomorrow and good citizens the day after tomorrow. As the Commissioner in charge of social affairs of the *European Economic Community* stated recently 'if we want to avoid the formation in Europe in the years to come of a semi-illiterate under-proletariat, it is essential that these efforts (relating to pre-school education and school initiation for migrant children) should be pursued and expanded. Apart from all the human and social factors involved, a good basic schooling constitutes an indispensable condition for a satisfactory vocational training'.*

The first important objective towards which should converge in a coordinated fashion all the efforts of the country of immigration (first and foremost), of the country of origin and of the international organizations concerned must be the setting up of *a whole network of structures and equipments to look after the children which can, without difficulty and in all circumstances provide facilities for looking after, and giving pre-school education to, all the children* of migrants, refugees and illegal immigrants.

In the host country: education at school. Considering now those children who enter the host country when of school age (or who have not yet received at that time any pre-school education), one thing must be avoided at any price: their being 'plunged' into ordinary classes before they have an adequate knowledge of the language of tuition. Quite apart from the general disturbance they would create for the body of schoolchildren as a whole, the psychological shock of finding themselves objectively incapable of following the class could turn them into unadapted children not only – momentarily – in relation to school but also – and permanently – in relation to society itself.

The time has come to deal here, even if only in a few lines, with the objectionable practice of 'measuring' the aptitudes and the intelligence of migrant children by means of over-simplified tests which assume a perfect command of every shade of meaning in the local language. In any case, the use of tests has been the subject of a long-standing controversy, which goes back to the time when they were first introduced into the United States school system; this controversy has brought to light the discriminatory, if not persecutory, character of this practice. Anyway, the commissions which apply the tests should as a general rule (but this is nearly always not the case) include educationalists or experts from the country of origin of the children tested. The main point, however, is that no tests should be applied to a child who does not yet possess a perfect command of the local language.

In the first few months of primary school, the children of migrants should benefit, in addition to normal schooling, *from intensive and rational 'initiation courses' or even 'reception classes'* to improve their knowledge of the local language, provided always that these classes do not become a siding-yard.

* Unoffical translation.

Among the indispensable complementary measures to be taken, we may mention:
(a) the *possibility for immigrant school children to receive help* when preparing their lessons and when writing their homework in de local language;
(b) the *organization of short but intensive language training sessions* for migrant children on public holidays, during school vacations or when the children are in holiday homes, etc.

The duty incumbent upon the community to ensure that children of migrants acquire full command of the local language in the shortest possible time has, as we have seen, priority over all other educational tasks. The country of origin, too, must co-operate to the fullest possible extent in the attainment of this fundamental objective by sending genuinely bilingual school teachers, teaching aids suited to the intellectual habits of the children concerned, etc. In this way, the country of origin can more legitimately exert the necessary pressure to obtain from the host country, or from the international organizations concerned, that they should honour their commitments and shoulder their own responsibilities in the matter.

Here too the problem arises of combining tuition in the language and culture of origin with the teaching of the language and (school) culture of the host country. This combination, let us repeat, is not only possible but also useful, once the critical phase of initial integration is over. In this phase, as we have seen, the child (always in the case of permanent migration) must be helped by special and exclusive means, to gain a complete command of the local language, and to master the school curriculum, on terms of absolute equality with his native fellow-pupils.

The meeting of two cultures

The 'meeting of two cultures', achieved progressively and in due time, is a development of great benefit to the two countries concerned and also to the migrants themselves, for it is the meeting of cultures which makes possible the fulfillment of the essential function of promoting understanding and friendship among peoples.

Nevertheless, even from the starting point of these objectively ascertained facts, there is a tendency to slide into arbitrary extrapolations and to assert that the teaching of the local language and culture should be made subject to the condition that the new should not drive out the old but rather supplement and enrich it. However, at least with regard to children of permanent migrants (and the others also, no doubt), what is needed in the first phase of school initiation is precisely the opposite, namely that the old should not create any diversion or hindrance to the fullest and speediest assimilation of the new.

The advocates of biculturalism and bilingualism are constantly putting forward another argument, derived from the needs of the immigrant families. According to their views (which, although not necessarily mistaken, are being carried too far) the school must, from the outset 'safeguard the linguistic and cultural heritage of the country of origin so as to enable the children to communicate with their parents'. At the same time, these children should put to use what they have learnt at school of the local language 'to act as interpreters for their parents'. These views in fact mask a philosophy which is not very acceptable – a philosophy which postulates that parents, far from co-operating in the efforts to achieve the social and school integration of their children, will shut themselves up in the ghetto of the exclusive knowledge of their own language and culture of origin.

Experience shows, on the contrary, that the efforts of schoolmasters and school

structures are not really effective unless both the efforts and the structures in question succeed in securing the participation of the parents in their action. We must abandon the idea that the children have to learn 'what is necessary' of the language of origin to be able to make themselves understood in the family and 'what is necessary' of the language of the host country to serve as interpreters for their parents; we feel it is essential to foster the closest co-operation between the immigrant parents and the school attended by their children, since this is a very effective means of promoting the integration of the adults concerned.

The school establishment must therefore make itself responsible for helping parents to understand and follow the scholastic and social problems of their children. This task is neither a brief one nor an easy one but it is a necessary one and, in the long run, a profitable one. Encouraging the schools of the host country to rely on a triangular structure – teachers-parents-pupils – will have the effect of promoting the overall success of integration and the concrete application, in the field of migrations, of Article 16 (3) of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights:* 'The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State' – the two States, we would add – in the case of emigration.

In the matter of school education a key principle should therefore be affirmed and observed, even if in this matter little or nothing has as yet been done: to help the parents, and chiefly the mother, to communicate with the children in the local language. If this principle is not observed, a breach between the two generations is inevitable.

While co-operation between the school, the parents and the children is as important as the co-operation, on a more general plane, between the country of origin, the host country and the responsible international organizations, there is another absolute prior condition for success: the training of teachers, or rather the *creation of a body of specialized teachers who are acquainted with the school organization and the culture of the country of origin and speak its language.* The co-operation of the host country should, in this case, take the form of actions more useful than the mere dispatch of hundreds of more or less adequately selected school teachers to teach children the rudiments of their mother tongue over and above – and sometimes to the detriment of – the lessons included in the curriculum of the ordinary schools of the country of permanent immigration.

Another cardinal principle in the matters is the elimination of all discrimination, in law and in fact, between the migrant child and his local fellow pupils, with regard to the *award of scholarship and other aids specially intended for the children of migrants.* For it is necessary to take into account the financial and sociological handicaps of the migrant family and the temptation to which it is exposed – more than other families – of interrupting a child's studies to put him to work.

A trend must be established to recruit – in adequate numbers and quality – *teachers from the country of origin possessing the indispensable linguistic knowledge* to assist the schools of the host country (particularly in the pre-school networks).

Steps must also be taken *to train local teachers specializing* in the education of the children of migrant workers.

Lastly, provision must be made for *systematic exchanges between the country of origin and the host country:* exchange of trainers of monitors, exchange of educational materials and information and carrying out of research and pilot programmes for the purpose of finding the most suitable teaching methods. What is involved is, in substance, the improvement of the reciprocal knowledge possessed by the two countries

of their respective educational systems and the permanent confirmation of experiences and ideas in order to arrive, in particular, at a realistic and gradual convergence of programmes and methods.

In view of the immense demand for specialized bilingual monitors, special measures will have to be taken to recruit, for the classes intended for migrant children, an increasing number of *teachers who, through their ascendants, originate from the country of emigration* from which the children proceed, and also students at university level who are nationals of that same country but reside in the host country to improve their linguistic or literary knowledge.

Preservation of the language and culture of the country of origin

Even though the central theme of the present communication is the need to give a broad priority to the learning of the local language and culture, the question may still arise of determining the means to be used for the preservation and if need be the acquisition or the improvement in depth – of the language and culture of origin.

Instead of an overlapping or combination of school curricula which imposes on the child an excessive intellectual burden that is often very harmful, the objective in question must be pursued by means of schemes that have less connexion with the school – except, of course, where the teaching of the language and culture of origin can without drawbacks constitute an integral part of the school curriculum because it is intended for pupils who already master perfectly the local language. Consideration might be given to the following schemes, to mention only a few: *holiday camps in the host country or trips to the country of origin* combined in each case with ad hoc language and cultural courses; *fellowships;* formulation by the *cultural institutes* of the country of origin of curricula specially designed for immigrant children; *summer courses* combined with leisure time activities with prizes awarded to the most proficient; night classes leading to a *certificate of linguistic aptitude in the language of origin;* organization of *reading rooms;* distribution free of charge of *publications in the language of origin* (history, literature, grammar, vocabulary, etc.) of a high general standard.

This body of measures that are general in scope should take an even more concrete and decisive form in the case of groups or individuals who are preparing to return to their country of origin (quite a rare case, in principle, since we are dealing here with permanent migrations). The most reasonable solution, and undoubtedly the least expensive one, despite the appearances, would be to organize from the outset, short but intensive *courses of in-service training* (preferably with accommodaction) – *before the departure from, or better still, immediately after the return to the country of origin.* The best preparation for social re-insertion upon that return would be, however, to provide in the host country the children of migrants with guidance directed towards *a course of study or a vocational training which is of real interest for the country of origin.* Here again, the closest co-operation is essential between the host country and the country of origin.

Socio-psychological Problems of Migrant Children and cultural Conflicts

BY DR. ANDREAS EPPINK

INTRODUCTION

The newspapers and popular magazines have recently been presenting us more and more with alarming reports of psychological problems and inadequacies affecting migrant children: here, too, caution is called for.

Elias and Scotson (1965: 208) point out that researchers are apt to study what they define as 'the problem' in isolation.

They add, however, that nobody can find explanations for things he considers 'bad', dysfunctional, problematic or delinquent if he cannot also explain what he considers good or 'normal', and vice-versa. It is often thought that only striking features need explaining and have their own specific causes. The situation of migrant children should therefore be compared with that of:

(a) children in the host country,
(b) children who have remained in the home country, together with their parents (father) or not, and
(c) children who have returned to their home country,

if the socio-psychological consequences of their migration are to be explained correctly.

A problem of a different kind is how the outcome of the research is to be used, i.e. what policy is to be pursued.

Here I would point out the danger of applying empirical results to individual cases. If as a group migrant children risk experiencing certain psycho-social problems, this is not to say that an individual child necessarily runs this risk. Consequently, some children have very great adjustment problems, while others have scarcely any.

The socio-psychological state of the migrants' children is dependent on interacting dynamic forces, which are:

(i) their cultural experiences hitherto, including the norms and values in the host country (the extent to which they have undergone socialization);
(ii) the immigrant's expectations (hopes and fears), as far as they influence the child. (These two factors referred to in psychology as the cognitive domain of perception and mental reflexes); and
(iii) the situation in which the migrant worker finds himself.

We will treat these aspects in the present report.

Boos-Nünning (1976) rightly notes that the theoretical basis and empirical re-

search needed to determine how the socialization processes interrupted by migration act on the migrant child's psyche are lacking.

This means that the facts given in this report, which is founded to a large extent on hypothesis and interpretation, should also be treated with the necessary caution.

The child's chances. The socio-economic situation in the home country is one of the major causes of migration, in particular of foreign workers.

These people mostly come from the lowest income groups and do unskilled or semi-skilled work in the host country (as in the case of southern Europeans in Western Europe, Australia and America).

The children's chances in the host country are influenced above all by:

(i) the socio-economic position of the parents in the host country, which is closely related to that in the home country;

(ii) the attitude of the host country;

(iii) the age at which the child migrated (this factor is closely linked with the norms and values learnt up to that age, the system of upbringing derived from the, and the child's schooling); and

(iv) the parents' expectations.

The first two factors will be met with repeatedly in the present report. It should be noted in connexion with (ii) that there are differences in attitudes towards, and policy concerned with, foreigners from one country to another (in West Germany, for instance, from one land to another), one town to another (especially in relation to housing policy) and even from district to district in the same town.

I shall now consider (iii0 and (iv) separately.

The age of the migrant child. Four kinds of child migration may be distinguished:

(i) the child, alone or with its mother, other members of the family, or both, rejoins the father (this is known as family reunion);

(ii) the child arrives with the complete family;

(iii) the child is born in the host country;

(iv) adolescents come by themselves (this happens in some cases) with the aim of finding work.

I shall not consider the implications of these four variables for the mental condition of the child.

Children may be classified by age into four categories:

(a) up to 6;

(b) 6-12: some of these will have had several years of primary schooling in their country of origin;

(c) 12-16: a large proportion of these will have completed their elementary schooling and some will have received more extended education in their native countries; compulsory education in the host country ends for them at the age of 14 or 16;

(d) over 16: these children are no longer required to attend school in the host country, even if they have received little education in their home countries.

The present report will not consider this category.

Most writers consider that the earlier the age at which the child migrates, or if it is born in the host country, the better its chances there. The older the child, the greater

the socialization influences of its own country's culture can be expected to be (*1*).

The older the migrant, the greater are, for instance, the language problems. The amount of catching-up at school that children born, for example, in France, or who spend their pre-school years there, have to do is much less than that of children who arrived at the age of seven or over (*Bedrouh*, 1977). However, longitudinal research on this subject is lacking.

The parents' expectations. Eisenstadt (1954:258) points to the interaction between 'the immigrant's own desires and expectations and the extent to which these can be realized in terms of the various demands . . . of the absorbing society'.

Many writers refer in particular to the differences in expectations concerning permanent settlement or return to the home country. Foreign workers from the Mediterranean area, for instance, regard their migration as temporary (e.g. Greeks in Australia – see *Australia*, 1975: 28) despite the fact that many of them do not return.

The importance that the 're-emigration ideology' can assume is evident in the case of the South Moluccans in the Netherlands (*Eysenring*, 1975: 52), who display strong group cohesion, a pattern of mutual aid and a desire to retain their own subculture, which is centred ideologically on their return to the island of Ambon and the creation of their own independent state. These aspirations remain unfulfilled, however, right through to the third generation. This increases uncertainty about their situation in the host country, often resulting in considerable tensions.

Among the foreign workers we also find a 're-emigration ideology' but no strong group cohesion, mutual aid pattern, etc.

Besides the 'dream of returning', we also find mythification of the host country: two dreams providing escape from everyday reality (i.e. mainly unskilled work, poor housing, justified or unjustified uncertainty about residence permits, and so on).

Many people are influenced by the 'Western myth' even before migration. particularly the younger people. American films make the West seem like paradise on earth.

Many parents migrated with the expectation that their children would have a better future; they are often disappointed and frustrated in these expectations. *Gans* (1962: 60) found more concern about downward mobility than hope of upward mobility among Italians in America. But parents are not only frustrated on account of their children's poor chances, but also because they feel they are losing their authority. The second generation, in particular, want to 'belong' and to be the equals of their contemporaries. They adapt externally to the host country. Their parents often find them disobedient and think they no longer have any control over them. In their eyes migration is then seen as having been a big mistake; they want to go back, but their children refuse to go.

They transfer their ambivalent attitude and feelings of uncertainty about staying to the children, who become confused by their parents' contradictory attitude in saying on the one hand that they want to go back and on the other that they left their homeland because there were no opportunities there. Alternatively, the parents idealize their home country and do not go back. Conflicts are also caused in the children's minds when their parents criticize the host country.

1. It is precisely for this reason that *Boos-Nünning* (1976) considers the youngest children to be the most vulnerable; they have not experienced the influence of their own country as have older children, who can idealize it. The findings of *Vlachos* (1968) however indicate that idealization of one's own country is not dependent on the place of birth: among the third generation of Greeks in America, for instance, who have never seen Greece, there is a resurgence of interest in their origins.

To sum op, an ambivalent attitude on the part of the parents can have an unfavourable incluence on the mental condition of the child and its chances in the host country.

SYMPTOMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTURBANCE

Homesickness can occur after leaving or losing something or someone loved: parents, a partner, a region, a house and so on. The feeling of 'not belonging' any more, too, arouses an intense 'longing'. This is sometimes called the 'bereavement process', and can occur in both adults and children.

Migrant children have to undergo the process twice or even more often in some cases: on separation from the father (when he sets off for a foreign country) and on leaving the familiar surroundings (including relatives and friends staying behind) when the family is reunited. Both occasions are characterized not only by a feeling of loss but also by a transformation in the roles of the members of the family.

Homesickness can have both mental and physical effects which are closely interrelated. *Averill* (1968) mentions the following features, among others. Separation can have psychotraumatic effects which can cause malfunctioning of the central nervous system and changes in the autonomic nervous system.

The influence of stress on the hormone system can result in feelings of unrest, agitation and tension coupled with panic and irritability. The symptoms are restlessness, loss of appetite, loss of weight, sleep disorders, digestive complaints, headaches, palpitations and muscle cramps

Malfunction of the organs of the body can cause superfluous perspiration, diarrhoea and nausea, especially before and during emotional events, from which psychosomatic diseases can result.

The bereavement process can place an extra burden on the migrant's family. Their poor socio-economic position results in continual tensions and every supplementary problem (e.g. sickness, accident, unemployment of one of the parents) can be disastrous for the child.

Reactions to the new situation and surroundings. If the father's authority has been lacking for some years and is suddenly re-established when the family is reunited, but in a completely different setting, behavioural disturbances can occur (*Muñoz,* 1974).

Almeida (1972) indicates re-activation of oedipal conflicts when the mother and children rejoin the father: the father is seen as an intruder threatening the bond between mother and child. Almeida (1972) and *Zaniti* (1977) found effective problems with parents immediately on arrival in the host country (*1*).

Viana (1978) mentions parents with migration syndromes which often take the form of a 'mythical syndrome' in which idealization of the host country provides an escape: this results from inadequacy to cope with the bereavement of process and the

1. They suppose that with children, whose fathers have been absent for a long while before they themselves migrated, psychological problems had already developed. On arriving at the host country this category (probably the biggest) already is defavourised.

feeling of being lost.

Viana points out that the decision to migrate is taken by the parents, or one of them, and the children themselves have no say in it; therefore they are not voluntary migrants.

Kabela (1973), in his work as a practising psychiatrist, found cases of Spanish children shortly after migrating suffering from inhibitions, dejection, sleeplessness and, in young children, poor appetite.

Viana, also a psychiatrist, indicates (1978: 23) that young children of migrants in Brazil manifest their situation very plainly in the form of disturbed relationships; he also mentions somaticizing, apathy and refusal to take food.

As stated in the Introduction, however, these facts are of little significance if they are not compared with date from control groups. *Oeztek* and others (1977) studieda (not entirely representative) group of Turkish children (777 from 301 families) in West Berlin. The method used was door-to-door screening interviews in the two districts with the highest population of Turks, and the ages ranged from 4 to 18. They compared them with a similar group of children in Turkey (number not given; from the Etimesut area).

The results were as follows: stuttering, thumb-sucking and nail-biting were significantly more frequent among the children in Berlin than in the control group in Turkey. The conclusion (Oeztek, 1977: 15) was 'therefore the West Berlin group can be considered a high-risk group as far as psychiatric aspects are concerned'.

The symptons seem to be a result of the new situation in which the migrant families find themselves. Thumb-sucking (and 'rocking') is often considered the result of too little physical contact with the mother in early childhood.

It has been observed that migrant mothers provide this less in the new situation than in their home countries. The physical symptons measured by Oeztek and others, such as 'high fever, coughing, ear discharge, diarrhoea, askariosis', however, were found to be less prevalent among the Turkish children in West Berlin than among those in Turkey. According to the researchers this can be attributed to better medical provisions in West Berlin and to the greater recourse to medical assistance there (p. 16) (*1*).

No difference was found between the frequency of accidents in the two groups. Mention should aso be made of a study carried out in Melbourne (*Australia*, 1975: 26) in which it was found that the high incidence of rachitis in Greek children compared to children from other countries was the result of the Greek method of child-rearing (*Maine* and *McCredie*, 1972). In other words, there may be differences between the physical ailments to which each nationality is prone. It is difficult to assess on the basis of the above data to what extent symptons of a mental or physical nature are due to the effects of migration. Many studies indicate that adult migrants with mental disorders already displayed symptoms of these before migrating.

I do not know of any study in which their occurrence among foreign workers' children has been compared with that among indigenous children in the host country.

1. Oeztek found a higher percentage of poorly-fed Turkish children in the 5-14 years old.

School and mental conflicts. In extreme cases migrant children who are backward at school even display psychopathological reactions, according to *Berthelier* (1976). He refers to behavioural deterioration and psychomotoric instability as the physical exteriorization of internal conflicts.

He distinguishes two extreme poles between which many variants are possible:
(a) the paranoid pole: the culture of the host country (thus the country itself) is rejected and denied and this is experienced as agression; the culture of the land of origin is retained 'as a myth – paradise lost' (cf. Viana, 1978); feelings of persecution are experienced;
(b) the schizophrenic pole: the child rejects its own culture; this denial of the child's own roots can lead to destruction of the personality, and often to delirium.

Results of not being able to cope with the school situation mentioned by *Muñoz* (1975) are mental blocks, imbalance and aggressiveness. If a child does not succeed in relating to the new school situation autistic behaviour sometimes occurs (*Vasquez, Richard*, 1978).

In recently-arrived children the block towards school can cause 'temporary regression in the emotions and intellect' (*Almeida*, 1972), and sometimes pseudodebility (cf. *Eysenring*, 1975).

Kloehn's study (1978: 30) shows that nervous disorders are not exclusive to foreign workers' children. Kloehn mentions studies among representative groups of schoolchildren in Sweden, England and Germany (not classified by social class) into lack of concentration, nervousness and sleep disorders. Twenty per cent exhibited serious symptoms. Thirty per cent had also had symptoms, but had themselves managed to overcome them in time. There was a clear difference between the symptoms exhibited by the two sexes: the girls suffered mainly from year? while it was chiefly aggressiveness, nocturnal enuresis, fidgeting, nail-biting and speech disorders that were observed among the boys. A clear link with the mental condition of the parents, especially the mother, was observed. Nervous mothers, dissatisfied with their situation, often had children with behavioural disturbances, and fear in relation to language and school could often be traced back to a disturbed mother-child relationship.

To sum up, the data given in this section seem to indicate that good relationships between parents and children can prevent many mental tensions.

The question is whether migrant parents are in a position to devote sufficient attention to their children. It is widely felt that migration itself causes homesickness and that the school situation can also give rise to mental disorders.

Compared with children in the home country, those in the host country seem to run greater psychological risks.

There is not sufficient information on the subject, however, to demonstrate clearly that mental disorders are more frequent among migrant children than among the children of the host country.

EARLY CHILDHOOD – THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

Psychologists and teachers point out how important contact with and attention from the other members of the family, especially the mother, are to the development of the child; early childhood is referred to as a 'critical phase'. Two factors can prevent the migrant mother from having the necessary stimulating influence on her child: her isolation in the host country and the social need that forces many women to go out to work. The foreign wife is prone to depression as a result of living abroad, and this

often manifests itself in psychosomatic complaints.

Stewart-Prince (quoted by *Aurelius*, 1974) found autism and mutism among West Indian children in England whose mothers were depressed or too busy to keep their children sufficiently occupied.

Low test scores among three-year old West Indian children in comparison with their English contemporaries were due to lack of attention and stimulation by the mother (*Pollak*, 1972).

The mother's isolation. If foreign women are open to their new surroundings their children can be expected to develop more rapidly. Not all wives are able to relate adequately to their surroundings: various factors are at work here, e.g. the language barrier, mutual mistrust and cultural factors (it is regarded as unseemly for Islamic women to leave the home alone; the same applies to some women from southern Europe).

In the case of women from rural Turkey (in *Wülfing*, 1978) it is sometimes regarded as an expression of upward social mobility if they remain at home as much as possible.

This isolation, with no close bond between female relatives and friends as there usually is in the home country can result, in the host country, in the mother's tying herself too closely to her child and overprotecting it (*BRD*, 1977), which could lead to conflicts when the tie subsequently has to be severed. Whether this is actually the case is not, however, borne out by research. In Mediterranean areas a separation between the worlds of men and women is perceptible. In her own country the wife has a great deal of independence in her domain, but because in the host country she is cut off from her own family, she becomes dependent on her husband. This results in marriage and family problems, as for instance among Greek woman in Australia (*Australia*, 1975: 26).

The working foreign mother. The most obvious and common solution to the financial problems often afflicting migrant families is for the wife to go out to work. In the industrialized host countries, certainly in the middle classes, married women more often work from choice than from necessity.

Studies and statistics indicate a high percentage of working mothers in the low-income migrant groups (e.g. *Australia*, 1975: 16). Because of their lack of education these women are found in the poorly paid occupations. Studies show that poor job satisfaction has a harmful influence on the mother-child relationship (*Kloehn*, 1978). Another harmful consequence of the mother's going out to work is the possible neglect of the child – poor nutrition, poor hygiene, too little sleep.

In the study by *Oeztek* and others (1977: 18/19) of Turkish children in West Berlin it was found that more than half of the 5-14 year old had to look after themselves, while the children in the control group in Turkey were all looked after by their mothers or other members of the family. Oeztek found a significantly higher percentage (24% – 11.5%) of poorly-fed Turkish children in this age group in West Berlin than in the control group in Turkey. (In the other age groups, under 6, and 14-18, no difference was found).

What solutions to these problems do the parents have?

(i) The first choice is to leave the child to be cared for by the older children, generally the sisters. While the child thus remains in its own familiar surroundings, this solution does have its disadvantages: the older children can be overtaxed, in particular the older girls, who are kept at home instead of going to school from the age of about 12 – that is at obligatory school age – something which has far fewer important con-

sequences in the home country than in the host country.

(ii) Some children are looked after at other people's homes (relatives, neighbours or friends). The extent to which recourse is had to this solution depends on the parents' nationality, the area and conditions in the host country. Among Turks in West Berlin (*Oeztek*, 1977) 30% opt for this solution. It makes a difference whether the child is 'adopted' full-time or only while the mother is at work. In the Netherlands advertisements are regularly placed by Turks seeking full-time informal foster homes in exchange for payment. There are no data to indicate to what extent this is done.

Hartman-Eeken (1977) notes in her study of Turkish families in two towns in the Netherlands that children sometimes remain for years in Dutch 'foster homes'. Sooner or later the parents come to take back 'their' child – unannounced. These sudden changes of surroundings, culture and affecting are harmful to the child (not to mention the emotions of the 'foster parents'). It is confusing and unsettling for a child to be moved around frequently (see relevant section). I would point out here that this form of 'adoption' does not spring from a wish on the part of the parents to be rid of the child: this would be an incorrect interpretation of the facts. The 'foster parents' with their middle-class valueas and norms do not understand the parents' insistence on remaining the child's parents even if they seem to have taken no interest in it all that time. The same opinions were held in about 1900 in England concerning working parents who placed their children in foster homes (*De Regt*, 1978). This was also a well-known phenomenon in rural areas of Western European countries, and it still exists in other countries (as I myself observed in Morocco and Turkey, for example). We also find some parents wishing to place their children full-time in a home or hospital because they think they will be well looked-after there in material terms and the people there know better what is 'good' for children than they do. It is a misconception that the parents in such cases do not love their children; this attitude is more an expression of concern than of neglect (De Regt, 1978).

(iii) A third solution is to make use of day centres (nurseries and kindergartens). Many parents find this a less attractive alternative (see Australia, 1975; Hartman-Eeken, 1977; Oeztek, 1977; and *Wülfing*, 1978); there are two reasons for this.

It is traditional for relatives, friends and neighbours to be called upon to look after the children rather than 'impersonal' organizations. The second reason is that the parents are critical of the methods of child care followed in day centres (the same is true, incidentally, of the assistance given in baby clinics). In addition to culturally-determined objections there are other factors that prevent parents placing their children in day centres, such as lack of places, distance, inconvenient opening times and expense. Wülfing (1978) found that it was the working wives in Cologne (Federal Republic of Germany) who made little use of nurseries, which may be partly due to cost considerations. Children's day centres have their advantages and disadvantages as regards the development of the child. The children soon pick up the language of the host country there (more about this later) and by coming into contact with other children of the same age they learn its customs. The danger, however, is that they will lose contact with their families and become alienated from them: sometimes the family home is merely the place where the child sleeps. This is why working mothers should be encouraged to give special attention to their children when they come home from work. The question is, however, how can they be encouraged to do this and to what extent are they in a position to do so? Other disadvantages are the confusion that arises from frequent changes of 'mother figures', and possibly cultural differences in what is and is not permitted at an age where the child benefits from a consistent

approach.

I have already mentioned job satisfaction as being a positive factor, and this is almost certainly lacking in the case of migrant women. Kloehn, however, (cf. *Dasberg*, 1978: 44-45) believes that non-migrant women who are discontented with their role of housewife but do not go out to work more often have emotionally and behaviourally disturbed children of school age than women who go out to work and are not satisfied with their jobs. In the case of migrant women, however, an important factor has to be taken into consideration, namely whether they take their jobs because they are discontented with their role of housewife: there are serious doubts about this in the case of many groups of migrant women. *Hartman-Eeken* (1977), having studied Russian literature on the subject, comes to the conclusion that children from backward environments have poor chances, especially if they have to cope with two languages or cultures. The paucity of their chances is worsened by great discontinuity in the care provided by their families, which offers them little stability. These children, says Hartman-Eeken, come to live in a 'no-man's land'.

Sjølund (1971) is thus of the opinion, on the basis of research in Denmark, that nurseries are always better than the instability of the poorer classes.

The question is whether financial aid to mothers, so that they do not have to go out to work against their wishes and merely out of economic necessity, would not be better. In Austria and Hungary mothers with children of 3 or under receive special welfare payments (*Australia*, 1975: 16). Sometimes a part-time job would provide sufficient additional income, but such jobs are difficult to find.

Dasberg (1978:45) comes to the conclusion that great caution is called for in the use of nurseries for autochthonous children and that a great deal depends on the quality. As regards this last point more research is certainly needed, in particular to discover what special facilities should be provided for migrant children in nurseries, taking into account the cultural factors. As we shall see in the case of schools, a child develops best if the facilities are adapted to his or her needs and not the other way round.

To sum up, the isolation of mothers, or the fact that they go out to work, adversely effects the bond between them and their children and thus their children's development. Care of the children is left to others: older sisters, neighbours or relatives, full-time foster parents or day centres. The last mentioned are always better than an unstable family, but the greatest caution is called for.

In my opinion two developments should be initiated. Good day centres should be set up, adapted to the special needs of migrant children. Nurseries should not be regarded as the best solution for migrant children, and facilities should be extended accordingly so that mothers are not forced to go out to work; then they can build up a better relationship with their children. In any event the relationship between parents and their growing children should not be hindered in any way.

UPBRINGING AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Psychoanalysts and psychologists see a link between forms of early training and later frustration tolerance or the ability to delay gratification. Even at a later age frustrations can be good for children to a certain extent; without them what is known as 'ego-weakness' results.

In this section we shall not consider the differences in child development caused by cultural differences in the duration of breast feading, the age of weaning and of toilet training, etc.

Above all it should be realized that there can be differences of opinion on these matters among migrants from different cultural backgrounds.

These differences can however give rise to an unfavourable view of migrant parents among those who raise children against a different social or cultural background.

The relaxed attitude of some parents, who believe that toilet training cannot take place before the child starts to talk, is for instance often regarded as a lack of hygiene sense on the part of the mothers, and the harsh methods of weaning and uncaring.

Because tenderness and affection are shown differently in different cultures, migrant parents are often considered by the surrounding culture to lack love for their children or to be poor parents.

In cultures with large families, for example, we find that the attention given to a young baby is reduced when its place is taken by a new baby. (Here we shall leave aside the question to what extent the first baby regards itself as unwanted).

In various Mediterranean subcultures I know I have noticed aspects of childrearing which *Gans* (1962: 56ff) mentions among Italians in America: upbringing is adult-centred and not child-centred. (*Eysenring*, 1975: 49, refers to the more society-oriented upbringing among Surinamese as opposed to upbringing in The Netherlands, which is more concerned with the child as a growingly independent individual).

As soon as the child is toilet-trained it is spoken to in the language of adults and is expected to act more and more like an adult. The parents provide the example for the child to imitate, After the baby stage is over the child is not played with very much, although it is cuddled and made a fuss of, especially if it is a boy. It has to keep quiet and play by itself in a corner. Sometimes children have few toys or are not always encouraged to play with them. (The American type of upbringing, in contrast, emphasizes the need for children to play and be creative).

The children are expected to show themselves to adults to demonstrate their parents' 'virtues'.

At the age of 10 or 12 the children are given responsibility for their actions and involved more and more in their parents' activities: the girls, in particular, help their mothers with the housework and with looking after the younger children.

The boys, on the other hand, are given more freedom and time for their own activities. In their peer group they have a large measure of freedom, with little supervision or participation by parents. 'In fact parent-child relationships are segregated almost as much as male-female ones' says Gans (1962: 56). On the other hand the children are not kept out of certain parental matters and 'unpleasant things' because they are supposed to be 'bad for them'. There is little interest shown, however, in the child's account of what it has been doing at school and in its play. (This does not mean, says Gans, that the parents are not interested in the child, but that it has its own role at home). Only if the parents are unable to fulfil their parental role do they lose interest in the child. In my own practice I find that in such cases the parents relinquish their responsibility to outsiders. They regard discussion as useless: they have been unsuccessful in looking after the child, and now other people know what is best for it.
If boys get into trouble with the police (*Gans*, and personal observation) this is ascribed to their falling into bad company and is thus not the parents' responsibility.

Rewards and punishment are given on impulse and alternate in rapid succession. When the parents address the children they do this in a stream of words without paying attention to precisely what they are saying. In this way the child learns that what people say is less important than what they actually do. It notices the inconsistencies between words and deeds (see also the section 'The parents' expectations'

above). According to Gans (p. 60) the child justifies its own failing on the basis of the great difference between ideals and reality.

Threats can be both physical and verbal. Corporal punishment is often resorted to in the event of serious violation of the rules, the argument being 'we hit you because we love you' (Gans, 1962: 59).

Without wishing to recommend corporal punishment, I must admit that, from an educational point of view, beating is a form of attention given to the child.

To sum up, the pattern of upbringing described above (derived from Gans, 1962) has the following characteristics:

- 'Youth' as it has developed in Western Europe, starting with the 18th-century bourgeoisie, is not a clearly definable period; the transition from child to adult takes place at an earlier age.
- The parents do not consciously set out to 'develop' the child into an adult in its upbringing.
- The concept of leisure time means little. There are few things for the children to do by themselves; instead they have their own role in the family, to 'help' the parents. Play is secondary and is seen not as a path to adulthood but as a handicap.
- Ideas about child-care, parental love and affection differ from one culture to another.

Typologies and ideologies of upbringing. We find many of these characteristics in the Western European working class (cf. *de Regt,* 1978); there are differences however.

Douglas (1973), following on *Bernstein* (1970), notes that a shift is taking place in Western industrialized countries from positional to personal family systems. This means that role patterns are less heavily emphasized; the accent in childrearing falls more and more on the individual and his responsibility. This all relates to the use of language codes in upbringing, socially restricted language developing into elaborated language, in which one respectively does or does not know each other's fundamental assumptions. In societies with restricted language codes people think according to the logic of the existing social order. With a restricted language code only a limited representation of 'reality' is possible. Bernstein (1970) relates language patterns to the structure of social relations when a child learns to speak, he also learns the demands of his social structure.

Whenever the child speaks or hears others speaking the social structure in him is strengthened, as is his social identity.

For the developing child the social structure becomes his psychological reality. 'Positional families' are characterized by restricted codes and the child's questions are answered in terms of hierarchies, sex roles, age and status seniority. Appeals to the child meant to regulate his behaviour are made in these terms. Good and evil are learnt in terms of the social structure. Authority is clearly defined and provides a guideline for behaviour, a code that maintains the solidarity of the group. In families based on the 'personal' system we find no fixed role patterns, and anwers to the child's questions aim at completeness. His behaviour is generally regulated by appeals directed to him as an individual. Good and evil are learnt in response to feeling. Guidelines are reasons, explanations and verbally manipulated feelings, not authority or discipline.

Children acquire considerable verbal skills. Because in the schools the emphasis is shifting from positional to personal systems of upbringing, children from personal family systems have the advantage.

Douglas has summed up Bernstein's approach in a diagramme. The development

from positional towards personal family systems shows how 'patterns of family-control' are being increasingly adapted according to the demands of the broader industrial social structures. (Bernstein, 1970). The other development shows how verbal communication will be less and less related to the direct social context (Douglas, 1976: 53). Following Douglas' diagramme we come to the following classification of educational ideologies.

Block A – restricted, social language, *positional* control systems:
(i) The principal virtues are: piety*, sense of honours*, respect for roles.
(ii) The principal faults are: formal violations of the social structure.
(iii) Ideas about the ego: passive and undifferentiated element in a structured environment.

Block B – elaborated language as an instrument for decision-making, combined with *positional* family system:
(i) Virtues: truth*, duty*.
(ii) Faults: failing to meet the demands of the social structure.
(iii) The ego is seen as an active intermediary, internally differentiated and role-supporting.

Block C – restricted, social language, *personal* control system:
(i) Virtues: integrity*, naturalness*.
(ii) Faults: hypocrisy*, cruelty*, non-acceptance of frustrations.
(iii) The ego is seen as a differential intermediary which endeavours to control an unstructured environment.

Block D – elaborated language as an instrument for decision-making, combined with a *personal* family system:
(i) Virtues: personal success and happiness, doing good for mankind.
(ii) Faults: not being true to oneself (individual and collective generalized guilt).
(iii) The ego is always the 'subject'.

From A to B, and from C to D it is the language code that is the variable; in (A + B) and in (C + D) the family control system.

Douglas's classification shows that the 'conscience function' is not universal and is developed differently in children in different categories. In C and D personal 'guilt feelings' are more prevalent, whereas in A and B it is more often feelings of 'shame' that are evoked (cf. *Eppink*, 1971); this can result in considerable cultural clashes. Douglas (1976: 63) points out that there is a tendency in 'modern' American child-rearing to apply personal elaborated language codes. This produces a child that is extremely sensitive to the feelings of others, takes an interest in its own internal states and is chiefly concerned with ethical matters; all sense of pattern in its social life has been removed. The justification of existence lies outside fixed rules: it consists in personal happiness and success or doing good deeds for mankind.

Two questions arise. First, how aware is modern society that these ideologies of upbringing are not the only ones that are possible or beneficial? (Consider, for instance, the high degree of emotional instability of children brought up in individualist societies – cf. *Kloehn*, 1973).

Secondly, is it desirable for children from other cultural systems (such as migrants) with A or B upbringing methods to 'develop' according to the standards of D?

* I want to point out that these concepts can have different, cultural bond connotations (cf. e.g. *Triandis*, 1972).

Their own child-rearing systems would seem to make it possible for social and economic development to take place (from A to B) without this necessarily involving a development towards emotional instability (D).

Migrants from category A (+ B) cultures may even have an advantage in the long term over category D children from individualist industrialized countries. The historian Romein's sociological 'law' perhaps applies here: backwardness can be transformed into superiority.

In any event Douglas's theory is a warning against automatically assuming that migrants under the same conditions as some inhabitants of the host country will be confronted with the same psychological problems.

This is why the situation of migrant workers cannot be compared with that of the working class in Western Europe since 1900 without further qualification. Nor should it be assumed that the same symptoms observed among migrant children and children of the host country necessarily stem from the same causes. It is for this reason that this report argues for measures that take account of the special problems of migrant children and their cultural differences.

Cultural differences (1) are mentioned in many articles on migration, but very rarely these differences are thoroughly dealt with or sufficiently explained.

As we have seen, Douglas's blocks A + B feature the group as a central focus, whereas in blocks C + D the individual is more central.

Obviously cultural clashes can occur when someone – to put it simply – migrates from one block to another. It should be emphasized yet again that not all cultures within any one block have precisely the same norms and values, although in outline they are similar.

The cultural clash will be most marked in the case of migration from A to D (or vice-versa) or from C to B (or vice-versa).

The phenomenon of foreigners working in Western Europe can be regarded as migration from A (+ B) to (C +) D.

We shall now consider the main cultural characteristics of A (+ B). Cultural factors are no mere superficial layer, as we have seen; consequently they are not lost as a result of migration, not even in the course of one or two generations. These factors influence:

(a) the development of the child;
(b) its mode of thinking and acting; and
(c) its participation – individually or collectively – in social life.

The cultural factors of A are notably:

- the family (clan) as the most important (first) reference group (honour and dishonour);
- group affiliations are more important than the individuality of the group members;
- the importance of the in-group in contrast to the out-group; xenophobia;
- the 'inside' domain as opposed to the 'outside';
- the differentiation of roles by position in the family, generation, sex, age and social position.

1. This section appeared, in slightly different form, in the Juni 1975 issue of *Tijdschrift voor Maatschappijvraagstukken en Welzijnwerk* under the title 'Mediterraan kultuurpatroon en hulpverlening' (Cultural Patterns and Assistance in the Mediterranean).

Honour and dishonour (shame) as the most important values in the in-group. The rules of behaviour in block A relate primarily to the preservation of family (or group) pride and honour and the avoidance of dishonour. Since several families together form a sub-group with its own pride and honour, interference by others (relatives and neighbours) can and may take place.

Even where the extended family does not live together (e.g. in cities) its members still remain in close contact. Similarly mutual control is constant within the nuclear family. Relations within the family are regulated by rules of consideration and respect.

These rules indicate that personal and family honour affect the group as a whole, and thus that individuality and personality have to be subordinated as far as possible to the group interest.

Personal desires have to give way to those of the family, i.e. of its head, the husband or father. The interests of the father on the one hand are identified with those of the child or mother on the other.

To the outside world this means that the mother has to teach her children always to keep up appearances, while within the family the important thing is to preserve harmony, which ultimately means that the opinion of the oldest member (usually the father) is heard and respected, certainly where outsiders are concerned.

If the family is larger than a nuclear family the relations are more complicated. As a general rule, women have to be considerate towards the men and younger members towards older members. The rules of consideration, or proper conduct, require the men and older members to 'protect and provide for' the women and younger members in return. In the eyes of blocks C + D this amounts to submissiveness: no protests may be made either to parents or to older members of the family, neighbours, friends or acquaintances. Since good and evil are closely connected with the inside-outside system (within the in-group) or out-group, their meaning is determined largely by relationships and social situations; they take shape chiefly in 'external behaviour'.

Block D is often critical of this. In blocks A + B good and evil are dependent less on absolute rules than on the circumstances: one has to judge one's role, relationship and situation in relation to others. Consequently only those relations that are concerned with the in-group are considered important (and are thus well defined).

The exchange of services is of the greatest importance in preserving the group. This cultural pattern might be regarded as a network in which services and things of all kinds are continually being exchanged.

Within this framework, each family tries to be as independent of others as possible and so to increase its honour and prestige by not having to act in a sub-ordinate capacity. It is not possible to be entirely independent, however, as this would result in isolation. The art is to manoeuvre between isolation and one-sided provision of services.

Morality relates above all to external relations (mutual service, consideration) and not to the 'inner man'; to block D, accustomed to ideal patterns of behaviour that apply to a large number of situations, this often seems like a 'dual' morality.

The rules of conduct require the continual supervision of others: pride and honour must be made visible. Proper conduct, the observance of the rules 'inside', produces honour and self-respect 'outside'. If all the members of the family do not observe the rules of proper conduct, pride and honour cannot be maintained towards outsiders.

Because these rules are so closely situation-linked, however, scant attention is given to anything that is not directly concerned with the in-group. Within the in-group a high degree of conformity is required, i.e. the individual is subordinate to the group.

The system of upbringing is entirely concentrated on this. The only qualities of the

child that are stressed are those serving to emphasize or improve the corporate life and cohesion of the group.

The wish to do something alone indicates personalization and individualization, or an attempt to turn away from the group, and is accordingly opposed. Conformity to the group is encouraged.

Only those characteristics of the child that can be seen to be directly in the interest of the group are developed.

Needless to say, the greater the cohesion of the group, the more this will apply. A family abroad or in an industrialized area will display these characteristics to a somewhat lesser degree, but it will never entirely lose them.

In-group and out-group. In Block A (+ B) behaviour towards others is determined to a large extent by whether the other person belongs to the in-group, or could belong to it.

A person's in-group could be defined as those people who concern themselves with him or her, both positively and negatively (or care about him or her) (*Vassiliou*, 1968).

The extent to which this is the case determines his or her behaviour. Absolute loyalty and obedience are demanded towards the leaders of the in-group; at the same time the members of the group enjoy their protection (exchange of services), and this does not end with maturity or 'independence'.

Outside the in-group there are invariably 'opponents' to be avoided or combatted.

The first question is: 'Is he for or against me? Can I enter into relations (exchange of services) with him?'

The *in-group* demands respect, proper conduct, with an exchange of services.

The hierarchy of roles indicates the form this is to take. The group (or the pattern) offers protection (and therefore concern/independence) in exchange for the loyal and proper conduct of the members.

The consequences of proper conduct, therefore, are honour and pride: honour towards the outside world, pride within. The consequences of improper conduct are shame and dishonour: shame within and dishonour in the eyes of the ouside world.

Honour creates trust, faith, honesty and protection of the group for its members: dependence but not inferiority. Because the honour of the group is so closely bound up with that of each individual, social support and control is continual among the group, and this strengthens the feeling of belonging.

To people in (C +) D this constitutes interference and lack of privacy.

The *out-group* means people who do not belong to your group (for example strangers and people of other faiths). There are *no* relations with these people and no fixed rules. Thus there can be indifference or even hostility towards them. Out-group behaviour, according to *Vassiliou* (1968), is characterized by competition, exploitation (in other words not reciprocity), rivalry (not protection), jealousy and at the very least mistrust.

Outsiders (e.g. impersonal organizations) are expected to act in their own interests and not from altruistic motives (*Australia*, 1975: 25).

The extent to which the migrant is able to re-define his in-group depends on his ability to provide for himself, both materially and socially. The freedom to close one's in-group is very restricted for migrants. Lacking the protection of a close-knit group, the migrants often feel isolated. Moreover, they regard 'out-siders' in the host country with suspicion. Not until they or their group find people they can trust can relations get under way.

In the industrialized regions the opportunities for 'choosing' one's in-group will be

more numerous but on the other hand the pattern of relationships will change more rapidly.

Where the members of the in-group are continuously changing, there will be greater insecurity, positions will have to be re-defined over and over again, the rules of proper conduct (exchange of services) will no longer be clearly defined, and each member will wish to be independent of the others, which brings the threat of hostility (i.e. essentially out-group behaviour).

The in-group does not remain static and does not form a self-contained unit for the additional reason that the members are continuously re-defining their positions within the group according to the circumstances.

Men and women. The most striking thing is that men and women regard each other, at least *outwardly*, as out-groups. This is also true to some extent in blocks C + D, where men and women perform many activities separately; however, there is a difference in emphasis. Unlike in block D, husband and wife are not 'partners' but strangers to each other who have to find their partners among members of their own sex (or among their children). A woman can only belong to the in-group through a man: as the mother of a son, the daughter of a father, the sister of a brother, or as so-and-so's wife. When a girl, by marrying, enters another family group her first task is to join the in-group; only by becoming a mother (of sons) she can achieve her full status in the group.

The man has the 'formal' role of educator and head of the family, but the wife through her responsibility of looking after the children possesses a good deal of actual power.

In the children's upbringing there is strict segregation of male and female roles. The sexes are kept apart as much as possible and boys and girls take little part in each other's group activities.

Equals and unequals. Since members of the family, neighbours and friends form part of the in-group, certain rules of respect have to be observed in relations with them; only among equals (e.g. friends) can these rules be relaxed somewhat. Between unequals (parent and child, man and wife, master and servant or protégé) the same rules of proper behaviour always apply.

Vassiliou (1968) remarks here that good conduct assures you of love and this in turn assures you of a family and friends – essential pre-conditions for progress based on *inter*dependence.

Good conduct, says Vassiliou, means 'behaving as you are expected to'; then you can expect 'honour', 'trust' and a 'good name' as a regard for your 'good character'. ('Good character' is conferred in return for observing the group norms – cg. *Luria*, 1974).

Respect is accordingly a basic element of interdependence. Mutual respect is related to 'trust', 'understanding', 'honesty', 'truth' and 'integrity' (*Triandis*, 1972).

In C + D this is also true, but there these concepts are more individual and less group-related in character.

Outwardly women are subordinate to men.

'Inwardly', however, as the children's parents, they are equals. Here we see that roles and role behaviour are determined by the situation.

Good conduct is situational and group-related and is not referred to an inner norm as is often the case in blocks C + D. Thus one has to judge one's behaviour every time

in terms of the situation: every kind of behaviour can be judged differently in different situations, depending on the situation itself, the role one performs in it and the composition of the in-group (which is not always fixed).

We have seen that roles can change in different situations. The role of the wife is subordinate to that of her husband and family. She must uphold the family honour and conduct herself as she is expected to, i.e. she must be subordinate to her husband and not argue with him, compete with him or place herself in the foreground.

Her role, however, can change: by becoming a mother she acquires a more or less 'secured' role in relation to the children. As the 'mother of my children' she is treated differently by her husband and family than as a wife or female member of the family.

These patterns have now taken on a life of their own which can be traced back to economic causes. In 'traditional' societies it was essential for the fields to be used as efficiently as possible and for the work to be shared out in the best possible way.

Marriage was (and still is in many parts of the world) an institution designed to provide support in the struggle for existence. It can be seen as a kind of insurance for oneself and one's children, and having children as a provision for old age. Husband and wife do not marry for personal reasons (love, similarities in character) but for reasons concerned with the community in which they live: the relationship must be strengthened, not weakened.

Vassilious told me in conversation that the argument in block A would be as follows' How can a boy and girl dare to impose their will on the community?

For example, how can a boy whose father has a vineyard at one end of the village marry a girl whose family has a vineyard at the other end? What use to them is 'love' if the economic balance between the two families and within the community is disturbed in this way?

The interests of the boy and girl are subordinate to those of the community, for they are dependent on that community and, ultimately, it is their community.

Inside and outside. 'Inside' usually means *at my house,* in the family, in private, at home. (In rural areas the farm is sometimes included.)

'Outside', in contrast, means not at home, outside the family (e.g. neighbours), in public, other people. The distinction between inside and outside refers to the in-group only, and should not be confused with that between in-group and out-group. Inside and outside (the in-group and out-group, equals and unequals – husband and wife; parents and children) are kept separate wherever possible. Thus different behaviour occurs in relation to the in-group inside and the in-group outside.

'Inside' is the woman's domain, 'outside' the man's. Work, friends and neighbours are accordingly kept 'outside' as far as possible (in the literal sense) and not discussed with the wife and children.

Men en women, and adults and children do not talk about each other's world. Women and children are not allowed to discuss things 'outside' and people are cautious about whom they entertain at home (Eppink, 1977: 28).

Young children (and daughters) also have to be kept 'inside' as much as possible, as outside there is danger: the eyes of others, gossip and dishonour. Upbringing belongs 'inside' and thus to the women's domain; she can have a say in the matter if she 'behaves properly' as far as the 'outside' world is concerned. This means that 'outwardly' she must show herself subordinate to her husband, not raise herself above him, even if inside she has the real power. (NB. These are ideal patterns, which may not always be found reflected accurately in reality; they do however play a real part in upbringing.)

In traditional societies, then, wives had and have their own well-defined position; with the change in economic circumstances, however, the roles of man and wife are changing. In modern society in particular the role of women is unclear. Because of this uncertainty it is difficult for a migrant from block A (+ B) to determine his position in relation to his wife. He has been brought up with the idea that men and women each have their own place within the community, but what is that place? For him the only thing that counts is membership of a group, and if there is no group, he makes one. He regards as 'good' and 'honest' whatever he assumes his group regards as 'good' and 'honest'; he reacts not as an individual but as a member of the group.

The group is essential since it is there that interdependence is expressed: 'as long as I can depend on you, you can depend on me' (says *Vassiliou*).

Husband and wife each work for their own future and status and each play their own part in the community, the husband 'outside' and the wife 'inside'.

In more industrialized societies, however, it is difficult to determine where the boundary between the two lies.

Identity and roles. 'A person's identity is determined by a set of frames of reference concerning situations (and in particular relationships within those situations) which are relevant to his place in this community or group, a 'situation' being defined here as a state determined by a clearly defined relationship with others involving communal activities to which certain rules concerning role and behaviour are attached' (*Eppink*, 1977: 163). This definition clarifies the difference in the creation of identity ('development') in blocks A (+ B) and (C +) D.

In block D the ideal is to integrate as many 'personality traits' as possible into a whole. This is called trying to be 'yourself' in all situations, or as many as possible. If someone experiences behaviour as 'untypical' of himself he wishes to change or integrate it. If someone feels in a strange situation that he cannot be 'himself' or 'express' himself, and feels he is 'playing a role', he can take a course in order to improve his ability to be himself and thus to be able to cope with more situations. He tries to extend his own sense of self to relate to the strange situation, to make it part of him. The individual is geared to the exploration of what is new (sensation-seeking).

In block A (+ B) this is perceived differently. A person is a member of a group and feels most at ease when behaving as the others do (or wish); in other words, when he does not have the feeling of being different, of being himself. The feeling of warmth and security must not be sacrificed to a feeling of individuality. Here, therefore, behaviour is more strongly linked to roles, i.e. to particular situations. The person and the group are geared to things that are ordinary, inconspicuous and familiar.

If a person finds himself in a new, unknown situation, e.g. as a result of migrating, he evolves new behaviour as do the others in that situation – or intensifies behaviour that has not been properly learnt. Roles stand side by side and are aggregated, not integrated, to form a 'personality'. He identifies with a situation, or with many situations (Is it fitting for me to be in this or that company?), and conducts himself accordingly. Someone who finds himself in many situations has to incorporate many 'roles' into his 'personality'.

He does not ask himself whether his behaviour is 'typical' but whether his behaviour is suitable for the situation or group. The 'personality' (it is difficult to apply a concept evolved in one culture to another culture) consists of a set of different roles with which he can 'identify' with different situations. In broad terms it could be said that people in block A are seeking new behaviour whereas in block D the old identity is ex-

tended to cover different situations as fas as possible. It can be expected, therefore, that the 'flexibility' of migrants from A (+ B) will increase in proportion to the unfamiliarity of their new situation, while their behaviour in an old familiar situation will be difficult to change.

What in block A (+ B) would be referred to as more or less central ('essential') personality traits are here the roles assigned to the familiar situations. It can be assumed that these are extremely difficult to change.

Shame as a learning mechanism. In block A children are taught what their place is in each situation (see above). This is done by 'shaming' them. Thus the awakening of feelings of shame is central to upbringing, the aim being to achieve the right role in the right situation.

A child brought up in this way has as many egos as role situations: a subordinate feeling as son of one's father combines easily with considerable self-esteem as brother of one's sister, member of a group or nationality. As we have seen, this also means that such children quickly adapt to a new role, without this attitude coming from 'within' or being extended to other situations.

Because the emphasis on correct role behaviour is strong, initiative and personal activities receive little encouragement. Concepts such as 'the child as a unity' or 'optimal development', or questioning by the parents of their role do not obtain in Block A. (Seen in this light, the role of courteous listener at parent-teacher meetings combines well with the authoritarian role of unassailable parent.)

The difference between upbringing mechanisms in the school in the host country and in the parental environment. In this section, examples of some educational mechanisms and their problems concerning (re)socialization are given.

If there are differences in the language codes or control systems used in the family (the primary environment) and the school (the secondary environment) this creates problems for the child.

There are two different opinions on good and bad and on the place of the ego, in other words of the individual in his environment.

We see this reflected in the difficulties experienced by children from the lower social strata (with restricted language codes) in schools with a middle-class control system (with an elaborated code), even though both control systems are geared to the development of the child and more oriented towards the individual than towards society.

The differences in upbringing ideals and control methods are still greater between cultures and subcultures, especially if at home ideas such as 'honour' and family and national pride (NB. not personal pride) are incalculated by means of restricted language codes and positional control systems, while at school the system is oriented towards the individual and a wide range of codes are used to achieve ends such as personal happiness and success.

This latter conflict occurs, for example, among Mediterranean migrants from the lower social strata in such school systems as those of Scandinavia, the Netherlands and the USA.

The conflict is already perceptible in the nursery schools.

Wilfing (1978: 122) describes the mechanisms used to bring up Turkish children. As babies they have a privileged position and their claims on the mother have priority

107

over those of the other children. They are never left alone, and the mother or older children are constantly nearby. They are surrounded with every possible attention, and fed and comforted on demand. There is a great deal of physical contact (e.g. the absence of prams, *Dasberg*, 1978). Upbringing is not an end in itself but consists in keeping all danger away from the child. In terms of Western child psychology these children are overprotected. They have few toys: these are show objects and not regarded as helping the child in its development. Play is considered to be an immature occupation and has to end as soon as possible.

When a child of this kind starts at a German nursery school, Wülfing (1978: 124) notes that it is less developed that the German children. It has not been encouraged to develop manual skills, independence and the desire to explore at home. Wülfing concludes that '. . . the learning difficulties of Turkish schoolchildren other than those due to language are the far-reaching consequences of inadequate opportunities for play and exercise in early childhood'. She notes a particular backwardness in manual dexterity (p. 127). It could be argued from this that mothers should be encouraged to use other methods of upbringing. This, however, would be to see the 'problem' from the school's point of view; the methods used by Turkish mothers, on the other hand, give a much greater chance of later emotional stability because of the amount of physical contact and the close bond between the mother and child (cf. Dasberg, 1978).

A close relationship between them and a longer period of babyhood, as research has shown, provide a good basis for emotion stability.

In the Western middle classes children are stimulated by quantities of toys and aids to become independent at an early age, but physical contact is thus reduced and they are often lacking in emotional stability later on (Dasberg, 1978).

Lack of manual dexterity is a handicap at nursery school but with special aid the children are able to catch up. The point is, who should adapt, the child or the school? The school is often seen as supplementary to upbringing at home. According to *Bronferbrenner* (1974), however, compensatory education is most successful if the parent-child relationship is strengthened at the same time.

Erikson (1963) states that the parents (especially the mother) must teach their children basic trust and basic security. Feelings of security in a child are strongly dependent on the parents' sense of security. The loss of traditional methods of upbringing caused loss of self-confidence among negro mothers, and this also happened if they tried to 'improve' their methods to bring them into line with the ideals of the new environment (Erikson, 1964: 236).

Although some upbringing methods used by migrant parents contain many positive elements that improve their children's self-confidence, they may be inadequate from the point of view of the child's place in the new community.

Research conducted among Arab children (*B. Lysen-Kist*, oral communication) showed that they were endowed with feelings of self-esteem, pride and superiority, but that the growing child's self-confidence was based solely on what the family instilled into it.

The children were idolized because they were seen as extensions of the parents, who thus idolized themselves. The family made too little constructive criticism and the children were not confronted with enough test situations in which to try out their powers.

When, as adults, they find themselves defenceless in the new world, they believe it is society that is at fault, and not themselves. Though group-oriented (the family) these children are not oriented towards society.

Amir and others (1968) found that among Arab children in Israel the eldest son did later find his place in the new society; the eldest sons were less fearful and dependent than their younger brothers even if they had not been born in Israel. The writers put forward the hypothesis that the traditional role of the eldest son accords easily with the demands made by the new society. A child can be made insecure by instilling it with fear. In many subcultures children are threatened with the evil eye, evil spirits and the like, or the father's authority.

Jarus and others (1970) studied Jewish children of Moroccan stock in Israel, and found they were controlled mainly not by rewards but by threats. If young children wanted their mother to do something for them and she refused they lay on the floor and screamed. If threats and smacks failed to stop the children behaving in this way she would give in. The children were not taught to delay gratification of their needs, and thus they did not acquire a sense of personal responsibility. The writers point out that these parents also feel threatened both by higher powers and by the unpredictable behaviour of the authorities.

It is not unlikely that political situations, or for instance the fear of losing the residence permit and unfamiliarity with the institutions in the host country, have an effect, through the insecurity of the parents, on the children's upbringing.

Older children may come to despise their parents on account of their low social status, and loss of respect may be countered by the parents, as a last resort, with beatings. The interference of neighbours, official bodies and the police may be the reaction of the surrounding world, with the result that the parents feel their environment to be threatening and hostile.

The father's role in the family also affects the child's development. In many subcultures the father, as we have seen, wields the formal authority. Sometimes the father figure is marginal or only present as an idea. This was the case with children who were separated from their fathers for a long period in the home country after his migration. Among the Surinamese Creoles (*Eysenring*, 1975) one man often has children by several wives; in each of the families he is merely the breadwinner. He pays little attention to the children, but expresses his relationship to them by spoiling them. The mother is the object of affection and the socializing force in the family*. The child identifies with an – often idealized – phantasy father who is physically absent. It is the mother's job to look after the children, but as a result of the progress of equal rights for women in the Netherlands 'contra-identification' (that is to say: not wanting to become like the mother) with the mother occurs (Eysenring, 1975: 45). The same is sometimes found among children from Mediterranean families in the Netherlands.

It should be noted in this connexion that the nuclear family is not as self-evident as is often assumed in the West. In many cultures the parents share their parental responsibility with a broad network of relatives, as a result of which the child has various figures with whom to identify.

Not only the form of the family but also the length of time it retains its structure, and the norms relating to this, have their influence. For example, in cultures where divorce is easy and relatively frequent, and the children are looked upon as belonging to the husband's family (as in some areas of North Africa), the 'step-mother' is a proverbial figure and a 'step-mother syndrome' is not uncommon. To sum up, methods of bringing up children cannot be studied in isolation or considered to be either functional or disfunctional; still less can they be transplanted as such from one system of up-

* Contrary to the Turkish and Moroccan mothers who are isolated from the outside world.

bringing to another.

What is good or bad for a migrant child cannot be decided without taking many factors into consideration: it depends on the context in which the child has been brought up (and that in which it will subsequently have to find its place) and on the values implicity or explicity underlying every kind of child-rearing.

Culture and upbringing are not mere externals, and they must not be confused with folk customs by which people set great store but from which they can also dissociate themselves.

Culture, the family and the system of upbringing also have far-reaching consequences for the world of perception and the world of thought – consequences which should not be underestimated(*1*). We have seen this, for example, in the link between the use of language and methods of upbringing. In conclusion:

(a) Methods of upbringing from one system (the new society) cannot be transferred without further ado to another (a migrant family)(*2*).

(b) A child accustomed to one system of upbringing (family) cannot be expected to function in a different one (school in the host country) without special help.

(c) Something that was learned in one context will not do so in another (e.g. learning self-confidence without being reinforced in test situations).

(d) The interrelations between norms, values, methods of upbringing and goals and the social context are so complex that clear answers or solutions can never be given to the various questions and problems arising out of migration.

Problems often have multiple causes; at the same time, some problems exist only in the host country. It could sometimes even be said that these people make errors of judgment.

The same can apply in the case of policy decision: all policy is based on choices determined by values. It may be stated, however, that a child brought up in two different worlds needs to develop a high degree of objectivity towards roles and tolerance of ambiguities (cf. *Eysenring*, 1975). It is very difficult to give a recommendation of how this could be taught to the child, especially because of the fact that the different cultural backgrounds (of the child and the parents on the one hand and of the host country on the other) are variables difficult to manipulate (cf. *Dumon*, 1976: 113).

The steps that need to be taken should therefore, in my view, be sought elsewhere:

(a) Additional structural facilities should be provided for migrant children, taking into account their cultural and social backgrounds.

(b) Because subcultural differences are more to the fore in the minds of educators in the host country than in those of the migrant children (or their parents), educators in the host country should:

(i) be made aware of the culture-relatedness of their methods of upbringing,

(ii) acquire a solid understanding of the methods of upbringing and significance of the child's cultural background at home; and

(iii) gain an understanding of the scope and limitations of complementary aid for these children.

1. We see this even in the expression of emotions (*C.E.C.*, 1977: 14); 'Expressions of respect, sadness, anger or sorrow are so laden with cultural, psychological and social connotations that they may give rise to all sorts of misunderstandings'.

2. We found that Mediterranean fathers in mixed marriages (with Dutch wives) reacted to this by applying their own cultural norms more strictly and idealizing them (*Eppink, Bovenkerk-Teerink*, 1978).

The child's own culture as a buffer zone. The child's own group can serve as a psychological buffer zone in its socialization in the new surroundings. It often regards that group as a 'reactive and protective factor in the face of rejection' (*Australia*, 1975: 129). We see this, for example, in Chinese groups in Western Europe, Australia, etc., and in various Jewish groups which have a strong sense of identity.

There is also a perceptible tendency, and a real need to remain in one's own culture if socialization takes place in a culture markedly different from that of the host country (*Australia*, 1975: 129).

This does not necessarily mean that 'integration', or interaction with the inhabitants of the host country, is impeded: this depends on the attitudes and institutional structure of the host country and the role assigned to minority groups.

The existence of a close-knit group seems to reduce the chances of neuroses and psychoses occurring (Australia, 1975: 130). The weak group structures and family ties and the absence of strong cultural traditions among the Yugoslavs in Australia are regarded as additional impediments to the child's chances of healthy development (Australia, 1975: 130).

We find a close-knit subculture, for instance, among the Greeks and Armenians in the USA.

In Canada the family ties among Italians have not only survived migration, but have even been strengthened by it (*Ziegler*, 1977). *Vlachos* (1968) states that the existence of a Greek-American culture eased the transition to the American culture. Nevertheless, this 'intermediate product' is also a cushion and a defence against American culture. For many members of the Greek community this results in cultural conflicts. Vlachos distinguishes two kinds:

(a) a generation conflict; and
(b) conflicts within the individual.

The generation conflict is an expression of inadequate social integration. The older generation, says Vlachos, seems to have three ways of resolving the conflict:

(i) resistance to change;
(ii) resigned tolerance (because change is inevitable); and
(iii) a deliberate attempt to understand the new culture.

In this study he found few Greeks who had opted for the last alternative.

In the second generation it is mainly conflicts within the individual that occur; these are characterized by an ambivalent attitude to both one's own community and the host country.

In the third generation, however, Vlachos notes that once again there is pride in the original culture and a growing acceptance of one's roots. Positive appreciation of the migrant's own culture by the authorities of the host country also has its drawbacks, especially when it is an excuse for neglecting to make policy provisions or create the right conditions.

It must be remembered that 'integration'* is a process that takes a few generations. It can be assisted by creating the right conditions.

First of all, for instance, migrants can be given the same rights as resident nationals. Then facilities can be provided for groups and individuals.

A person's group is very important to the development of his identity. Here we

* I shall not consider here the varying connotations this concept has.

must distinguish between individual and group identity. Everyone has an 'identity' and 'feelings of identity' which are in constant motion. Loss of certainty is referred to as 'loss of identity', and may subsequently lead to psychic decompensation.

Thus 'loss of identity' refers to the loss of certainty – nobody can lose his identity as such.

Group identity is a term often used to refer to the recognizability of a group, which can come from within or from without. When recognizability (or identity) is imposed from without there is a danger of stigmatization. This being the case, I am of the opinion that the desire to 'retain our identity' as a group must come from the members themselves. The emphasizing of identity from without must not however be confused with the encouragement of the socialization of migrants and their children especially by making use of their own capacities and group traditions.

The influence of language on child development. Anyone who studies the literature of recent years on the subject will find that there seem to be more and more adherents of the view that it is important for the child to learn or develop its own language.

Aurelius (1974) points out that this was the tenor of a *UNESCO* recommendation as early as 1954. Parents must be encouraged to continue speaking their native language with the child (*Hälfing*, 1975; *Vasquez* and *Richard*, 1978), otherwise there are dangers:

(a) the child's progress in the language of the host country may be poor;
(b) danger to the bonds of affection with the parents;
(c) the child may evolve a negative self-image.

(a) Parents usually speak the foreign language imperfectly, with the result that preschool children have to learn it afresh at school and schoolchildren are confronted with different usages at home and at school.
(b) This discrepancy creates confusion for the child, with a chance of psychological problems (*Vasquez* and *Richard*, 1978). The child rejects either its parents or the school; a schoolage child usually begins to look down on its parents because they speak the new language badly.
(c) If the child acquires a negative image of its parents or its mother tongue, it is easy for it to evolve a negative self image and there may be feelings of loss of identity.

From the age of about six months children begin to imitate the language of their parents. If they come into contact with others at home, in the nursery or at school, the process continues and they gradually pick up the new language as well.

According to Vasquez and Richard (1978), the child's parents should allow it to express itself spontaneously in the language of its choice until the age of ten.

Corrections of criticisms carry the risk of blocking the child's desire to communicate, as they may be experienced as rejection. Backwardness in the language at schoolage can be a symptom of this. As the child grows older the parents can encourage it to speak their native language with them consistently.

Other writers encourage learning the mother tongue at school as well. Experiments are taking place in Sweden involving the use of foreign nursery and primary school teachers to communicate with the children in their own language; the aim is to avoid inhibitions in their emotional development and denial of the family background, with its attendant danger of disturbed communication with the parents.

Children from the Dutch, British and French ex-colonies* sometimes speak the language of the host country, but with differences in usage and connotations (*C.E.C.* 1977: 14). This can inhibit children in their communication at school. Sometimes there are cases of pseudo-debility (*Eysenring*, 1975: Caribbean Dutch) or absenteeism from school as a result.

Most writers mention the difference in usage at school (standard usage) and in the child's social class or socio-cultural environment (e.g. *C.E.C.*, 1977).

To sum up, most writers assume that a sound knowledge of one's mother tongue makes it easier to learn a second language. Some believe that this applies only to highly intelligent children. Further conditions are discussed in the next section.

School and psychological problems

(i) Social class and school. According to *Tabouret-Keller* (quoted by *Vasquez* and *Richard*, 1978) school performance depends more on class differences than on whether the child is monolingual or bilingual (cf. *Persson*, 1978).

Many writers (including *Van Keulen*, 1977; *Muñoz*, 1978) point out that schools in the host countries favour the middle classes (*la petite bourgeoisie intellectuelle*). *Porcher* (1972) emphasizes, correctly in my opinion, that French (and other) children in the underprivileged social classes are not in the same situation as migrant children. He claims that this is a preconception based on an underlying ideology that ignores the real problems. Each child has its own cultural environment which exerts an independent influence on the development of language, thought and behaviour.

Raillon, in *Education et Développement* (1975: 83), agrees with Porcher: 'For too long schools, as we know, have failed to recognize these personal and social peculiarities, unknowingly (at least until recently) favouring the children of the middle class (*la classe bourgeoise*), for whose language and behaviour they are a vehicle'. However, placing these children (ideologically) in the same category as working class children means making the same mistake and ignoring the special nature of the migrant child's environment. According to Muñoz the school is 'the scene of (the child's) search for identity and its need to be recognized, but if (the school) is a site of failure . . . it plays only a marginal role'.

Vasquez and *Richard* (1978) believe that the parents must insist on their children receiving normal schooling: in an ordinary class, among children of the same age, among children of the host country, if necessary with special help. They see special schools as a means of disposing of these children, which means reducing their chances for the future.

Special schools always have a stigmatizing effect, say these authors.

Children who do not succeed at school or cannot make the grade in a particular year are regarded as psychological or social misfits by parents or school. The school tries to influence the child, and if it does not succeed the blame is placed on the parents or on the child's lack of intelligence.

(ii) Social class: parents and school. The second reason why migrant children are underprivileged in comparison with children of the host country, even those from the lower classes, is that their parents are not sufficiently familiar with either the language

* The problem remains of the language differences in the native country, e.g. the Berber and Catalonian languages.

or the education system of the host country to give their children the stimulation and additional support they need.

Vasquez and *Richard* (1978) mention as a discriminatory factor in the education system (primary school) the fact that children are given too much homework, which obliges them to seek help from their parents. This problem is also recognized by other writers (*Instituto Español*, 1975; *Australia*, 1975; *BRD*, 1977).

In other words, the writers argue that the schools should adapt to the children (whether of migrant or working-class parentage) and not the other way round (*Charlot*, 1975).

(iii) Intellectual ability and social ties. *Luria* (1976) has shown in research in Soviet Central Asia that cognitive processes such as generalization, deduction, reasoning, imagination and self-analysis depend on social conditions. Illiteracy and poor economic conditions shape the world of perception, mental activities and cognitive ability (including comprehension). How a person perceived himself and the world around him is consequently highly culture-related, as well as his reality-perception and reality-awareness (cf. *Bernstein*, 1970, and *Douglas*, 1971).

Older children who have had little schooling in the home country are therefore literally unable to reason 'logically' (in the sense of abstraction and deduction for instance). Abstract questions such as 'In the far north there is snow on the ground and all the bears are white. Nova Zembla is situated in the far north and there is always snow on the ground there. What colour are the bears there? Are impossible to answer – in the opinion even of illiterate adults – unless one has been to Nova Zembla. This does not indicate lack of intellectual ability. Luria shows in his study of illiterate adults that intellectual capacity is closely linked to, and built up from experiences. Self-awareness and self-analysis are usually restricted to definitions of conduct in familiar concrete situations. A child who does not have this experience gives a false impression of being 'uninterested'. Consequently intelligence tests developed in the West (comparing the subject's achievement with the average scores in his age group) cannot be used to measure the intellectual capacity of migrant children (especially if they come from a different culture). The most they can measure is someone's ability to take part in the education system, which, as we have seen, is culture- and class-linked. So here, too, it is easy to measure pseudo-debility.

(iv) School and parents. Besides these conditional factors there is one that is related to the different social background of the school (i.e. the teachers) and the migrant family. The teachers try to involve the parents in the running of the school as much as possible, but migrant parents refuse to take part. Sometimes this is due to cultural factors: the parents believe their children are in good hands (see above on the subject of the separation between the worlds of the children and their parents). There is a more deep rooted cause, however. Many naively believe that if parents were given more information they would be more interested. Apart from the practical problems involved (the parents' working hours and deficient knowledge of the language) there is a problem of communication, particularly in the case of parents who are illiterate or uneducated, as we have seen in (iii) above of block A. Abstract information provided by the teachers (of block D) is totally incomprehensible to the parents and thus conveys nothing to them, so they stay away from parents' evenings and open days. However, if the parents cannot discuss their children's progress regularly with the teachers, they are often stigmatized as 'bad' (*Vasquez* and *Richard*, 1978).

(v) Cultural elements in the relationship between parents and school. Cultural elements can also hamper relations between parents and the school. Some parents, consciously or unconsciously, impede the social mobility of their children because they do not want them to outdo their father. (This phenomenon is also found in some lower social strata in the West; I myself have found it among rural North Africans) (*Eppink*, 1977).

Parents can also be handicapped in expressing their desires (and problems) regarding their children's education by viewing the school as an authority which it would not be 'proper' to approach.

There are also differences of opinion on what children should learn at school which may explain some parents' negative attitude (for example, they are not learning things that would be useful to them in the home country, they are allowed too much 'freedom', there is too little discipline, too little homework, the education system is 'not serious enough': at a certain age the daughters in particular are regarded as grown-up, while the school still regards them as children). Sometimes the engendering of 'independence' is regarded as a sign of not loving the children (*BRD*, 1977). Others (particularly Moslem parents) object to co-education after a certain age.

(vi) School subjects and the development of the child's identity. The over-evaluation in schools of the language of the host country in relation to the children's mother tongue; the teaching of the second language without reference to the norms and values (including taboos – C.E.C., 1977) in the child's cultural background; and the no more than feeble attempts made to link what is taught to the social and economic situation of the migrant child: all these not only impede the child's progress at school, they also have a harmful effect on its self-image and self-esteem. Most children learn at school to see their countries in an unfavourable light; the host country is 'developed', their own countries 'underdeveloped'. The children learn little about their own countries (*BRD*, 1977; *Van Keulen*, 1978) and what they do learn is often *'interpretación parcial de la historia, a veces en choque con la visión histórica de su país de origen'* (*Instituto Español*, 1975). *Dors* (1971) states that Surinamese children are taught colonial history as seen through European eyes.

The teachers intensify the lack of self-confidence in migrant children by seeing them as children who are lacking something and who are underdeveloped or inferior. This often applies even to teachers of the same nationality as the children. The children are easily led to idealize the values of the host country, particularly those of the middle classes, without being able to achieve them.

A general phenomenon is that the child becomes ashamed of its origin, country and parents. More knowledge among teachers of the cultural backgrounds is therefore called for (cf. *C.E.C.*, 1977 and others).

(vii) The child's own culture as a buffer zone; bicultural teaching. As explained above, the child's own culture is sometimes seen as a buffer zone in the process of adaptation to the new society. It is for this reason that some schools provide bicultural education. Though I do not propose to consider this point at any great length, the disadvantages of this approach mentioned are that children cannot be brought up in two cultures at once, and they acquire an imperfect knowledge of both languages. It overtaxes the children (mentioned particularly in the German literature) and the teachers, since it involves working with two different systems at school); it impedes the child's integration; it is based on the policy of re-emigration, although re-emigration is unlikely to take

place.

In this last connexion it is pointed out that, notwithstanding this educational approach, the child is brought up with the implicit mission of taking the knowledge acquired in the industrialized country back to its 'developing' country. Another objection concerns the content of this bicultural system, which is often designed for children in their home countries, not for foreign children in the host country (*Van Keulen*, 1978: 45).

To sum up, the education system also exposes migrant children to the risk of becoming isolated. Most education systems are not geared to children from the lower social strata, let alone to migrant children. Because of the problems in communicating, these children have difficulty in relating to their contemporaries. The subjects taught tend to give children an unfavourable picture of their origins and can create a gulf between them and their parents. A negative self-image is thus strengthened and insecurity increased. I shall now consider the last point.

The child's self-image and self-confidence. Elias and *Scotson* (1965) show the vulnerability and unbalanced development of feelings of self-esteem in a certain group of English lower-class youngsters. They say this is a frequent phenomenon in societies where there is a long period between youth and adulthood (p. 157). The young people lose self-confidence and are uncertain of their task and role in society (idem).

The origin of this insecurity, however, lies in childhood. The researchers say that children are almost automatically assigned the same status as their parents, which adversely affects their self-respect and personal development. Amongst themselves the younger generation, in their own way, uphold the same social division as the older generation, sometimes even more strongly (p. 185). The knowledge the parents have of their own place in the status hierarchy is transferred to the children and from an early age contributes to their consciousness (idem). This gives rise to strong barriers which become deeply rooted in the child's personality.

The high or low status-consciousness of children, according to Elias and Scotson, is if anything stronger than that of their parents, although it may perhaps be more based on phantasy (p. 216), since it it influenced both by the parents and the children's perception of them and by their experience of what others think and say about them and their parents (idem). The child's view of its status colours its self-confidence (or lack of it) for the rest of its life (p. 217). The social position of the migrant family is often characterized by a low income, the father's unpleasant dirty work, poor housing and sometimes poor physical or mental health – not factors that contribute readily to a positive self-image. In addition, migrant children are often teased by other children of the same age on account of the cultural differences between them (e.g. eating habits, climate, language, name, mentality, affections), while people in the neighbourhood regard their parents as intruders or look down on them. Nor does the school always contribute to a positive self-image, as we have seen. It must also be remembered that the child is much more vulnerable and sensitive in cognitive terms to insults, or supposed insults. Discrimination is sometimes real, sometimes based on false perceptions, but it is felt all the more strongly by a child with feelings of insecurity because it has no resistance in the form of a positive self-image. Migrant children often experience their environment as hostile and lacking in understanding. *Kruijn* found that Surinamese in the Netherlands had strong feelings of not belonging, dependence and inferiority (Kruijn quoted by Eysenring, 1975).

Eysenring (1975: 20) points out that every child has to develop a certain frus-

tration threshold. This can be achieved by acquiring positive feelings of self-esteem. The 'chain-migration' of Greeks in Australia, for example, has had stabilizing effects and the size of the groups has improved the chance of mutual support (*Australia*, 1975: 40) (1)

Robust self-confidence, a sense of identity through belonging (to a family, an area, a country, a culture): these are basic preconditions for satisfactory functioning, both phychological and otherwise. Loss of selff-confidence occurs when the migrants, or those around them, try to introduce 'improvements' based on the ideals of the host country. Any attempts to become 'emancipated' in Western fashion leads to frustration.

To sum up, feelings of insecurity and inferiority in the parents are transferred to the children. The feeling of not belonging – 'nobody wants me' – can lead to apathy, defeatism and aggressiveness. Children turn away from their parents and follow the ideals of the host country; because this does not work their insecurity is increased. This starts at school, where feelings of frustration can easily develop in a child confronted with different cultural, social and linguistic group norms. Education and upbringing must therefore be designed to increase the child's self-confidence.

At school migrant children must be made aware of the reasons behind migration and the value of their own cultures must be accentuated.

SUMMARY

This paper deals with the socio-psychological problems and cultural conflicts to which the children of migrants are exposed.

These children appear to incur greater emotional risks than children living in their country of origin. In the first place – according to a number of authorities – migration of itself provokes a reaction of nostalgia. It calls for adjustment of the parent-child relationship. A satisfactory parent-child relationship can avoid much emotional stress. There remains to be seen whether parents will always be in a position to pay attention to their children's problems.

The parents' uncertainty regarding the duration of their stay in the host country has a destabilizing influence on the child's psychological balance.

The absence of the mother, when she works outside the home, weakens her ties with her child. The latter is often entrusted to outsiders, or put in a day-nursery – which is better than to expose the child to possible family instability; the utmost caution is, however, to be recommended in this respect.

In any case, in the absence of any comparative studies on the subject, it is not possible to establish that the children of migrants are more prone to emotional disturbance than native children (particularly in the lower social strata).

Chapter III deals with the connexion between education and cultural environment. It will be noted in this regard that the content not only of the concepts of 'youth' and 'development' but also of those of 'affection', 'motherly love' and 'fatherly love' is dependent on culture.

The 'ideologies' implicitly concerned with education are examined here in relation to the child's family control system and to the use of language codes in education

1. As far as I know, no exhaustive study has been made on the problems of foreign children in relation to variables such as the comparative size of the children's ethnic group within the native population of the town or area under consideration or the co-existence of several ethnic groups so different in size that mutual support and education are affected.

(*Bernstein*, 1970, *Douglas* 1973). It is obvious that the cultural differences implied in those ideologies manifest themselves mainly in the case of the children of illiterate or semi-literate foreign workers who are integrated into the school systems of the industrialized countries.

Since differences between cultures have often been used by writers, though with little explanation, as a basis for the study of cultural problems, a detailed analysis of cultural characteristics has been undertaken in this chapter for the group of migrants whose family control system is said to be 'positioned' and whose language codes are limited (in other words, most of the migrants of rural origin and modest socio-economic background).

With the aid of a few examples, the (re)socializaion problems of migrant children in industrialized countries is examined here in relation to education processes in the culture of the country of origin. The conclusion drawn is that there can be no immediate answer to the question of determining what is good and what is bad for the education of migrant children.

Socialization problems are both diverse and complex in their origin. Besides, many problems exist only in the minds of the specialist – educational and other – of the host country. In this regard, it is actually possible to cite errors of judgment which have influenced policy decisions.

CONCLUSIONS

- Culture and education are not superficial phenomena to which people are attached but which they can do without.
- Without help, a migrant child cannot develop properly first in the family's educational system, then in the educational system of the society or school of the host country, because the child has no 'test situations' available.
- Something which functions well in a particular framework of life does not necessarily do so in another.
- Nor is it possible to transfer the educational system of one régime (that of the host country) to another (that of the migrant family).
- The interdependence of educational standards, values and methods on the one hand and the social framework on the other is so very complex that many questions relating to migration will always remain unanswered and unsolved.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Special measures geared to the cultural and social ties of migrant children should be taken. Such measures, accordingly, should be inspired from and adapted to the possibilities and traditions of the group concerned, so as to foster the process of socialization of migrant children and migrant families.

A policy of this kind, however, must not be confused with one advocating acknowledgement of the migrant of 'his own identity' at the risk of having him resent it as a stigma.

Teachers in the host country must therefore:

(i) realize that their educational methods are derived from their own cultures;
(ii) gain a more thorough understanding of educational methods in the culture of origin, and of the significance of the child's family ties;
(iii) be aware of the advantages and drawbacks of the additional help given the child.

As to the problem of the day-care of migrant children, it is felt that action must not be taken in two directions; first, by setting up good day-nurseries which take adequately into account the particular needs of migrant children; second since the first solution is hardly ideal for the children, by making it progressively easier for mothers not to have to work outside, thus enabling them to gain a better relationship with their children. The educational relationship between parents and children should never be thwarted.

There is a risk that the school system may isolate the migrant child: most school systems are not designed for children from the lower social strata and still less for migrant children.

The content of school curricula should be such as to help the migrant child gain a positive image of his origins, rather than to not create a gap between him and his parents.

In order to avoid increasing the feeling of uncertainty or inferiority of the child and avoid also emotional disturbance, the school should lay stress on the value of the mother tongue and the culture of origin. Education and schooling should both contribute to increase the child's self-confidence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Almeida, Z., Aspects psychosociaux et psychopathologiques de la transplantation. *La Santé des Migrants, Droit et Liberté, Paris*, 1972, pp. 103-128.

Amir, Y., Sharan, S., Kovansky Y., Birth-order, family structure and avoidance behavior. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 1968 (No. 10).

Aurelius, Göran, Psycho-social adjustment and schooling of immigrant children. In : *Migrant News* (3), 1974, pp. 8-11.

Australian Government, *Commission of Inquiry into Poverty* : Welfare of Migrants, Canberra, 1975.

Averill, I.R., Grief, its nature and significance. *Psychological Bulletin* (70), 1968, pp. 721-748.

Bastide, Roger, La socialisation de l'enfant en situation d'acculturation. In : *Les Carnets de l'enfance* (10), juin 1969, pp. 26-33.

Bedrouh, F., e.a. Le passage: socialisation des enfants des migrants. *E.R.S.E.N. (service sociale d'aide aux migrants)*, Paris, 1970.

Bernstein, Basil, Class, codes and control, vol. I : Theoretical studies towards a sociology of language, London, 1971.

Bernstein, Basil, A socio-linguistic approach to socialisation. *Hymes* (ed.). *Directions in socio-linguistics, New York, 1970.*

Berthelier, D, Les enfants de travailleurs migrants. Problèmes psychopédagogiques at médico-sociaux. *Journées d'études sur les problèmes posés par la scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants*, Lyon, avril 1976.

Berthoz, Michelle.

Boos-Nünning, Ursula, Hohmann, M., Reich, H.H. Schulbildung Ausländischer Kinder. Studien zur Kommunualpoëtik (Bd 14). *Integration Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, Bonn 1976.

BRD: Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familien und Gesundheit. Situationsanalyse nichterwerbstätiger Ehefrauen Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der BRD. *Institut für Sozialforschung und Sozialwirtschaft E.V.* (ed. : Franz Brandt), Bonn, 1977.

Bronfenbrenner, U., Wie wirksam ist kompensatorische Erziehung? Stuttgart, 1974.

Cababira Goas y Marales Asin, Problemas psiquicos de la emigración, Madrid, 1969.

Centre International de L'enfance. Les enfants de travailleurs migrants en Europe, ESF, 1974.

Charbit, Yves, Les enfants de migrants en Europe, *Les Carnets de l'enfance/Assignment Children, UNICEF*, Vol. No. 32, 197 pp. 74-94.

Commission des Communautés Européennes. *Etudes: séries éducation, No I, Bruxelles, 1977.* Les enfants de travailleurs migrants.
Commision of the European Communities. The children of migrant workers. *Studies: education series, No. I,* Brussels, 1977.
Cox, David R., Series of studies on the psychological Development and Problems of Migrant Children, 1975-1977.
Cox, David R., The role of ethnic groups in migrant welfare. (Research Report) *Australian Government,* 1975.
Danziger, K., The socialization of Migrant Children, Toronto, 1971.
Dasberg, L., e.a. Leren samenleven; ontwikkeling van gedrag in de eerste levensfase. *Cahiers bicwetenschappen en maatschappij.* (5), No. I, okt. 1978.
De Greve, M. and Rossel, E., Problèmes linguistiques des enfants de travailleurs migrants, Bruxelles, 1977.
DeRegt, Ali, De vorming van een opvoedingstraditie: arbeiderskinderen rond 1900. *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 1976 (5), pp. 37-61.
Dors, H. Het surinaamse kind wordt nog steeds misvormd. *Orgaan van de Surinaamse Onderwijzers Bond,* Paramaribo, 1971.
Douglas, M., Wereldbeelden, 1976 (Natural Symbols, London, 1970/73).
Dunton, W.A., The activity of Voluntary Agencies and National Associations in Helping Immigrants to Overcome initial Problems. *International Migration* (XV), 1977, No. 2/3, pp. 113-126.
Education et Développement, Numéro spécial: Enfants de travailleurs migrants (101), mai 1975.
Eisenstadt, S.N., The absorption of immigrants, London, 1954.
Elias, N., Scotson, J.L., The established and the outsiders, London, 1965.
Eppink, Andreas, Familierelaties en persoonlijkheidsontwikkeling in Marokko. Een onderzoek naar referentiekaders en denkpatronen met betrekking tot familie, vriendschip en sexualiteit, sept. 1977.
Eppink, Andreas, Jeugdwelzijnswerk en problemen van buitenlandse kinderen. *Tijdschrift voor maatschappijvraagstukken en welzijnswerk,* 1977 (31), pp. 271-275.
Eppink, A., Bovenkerk-Teerink, W., Rapport: Gezins- en huwelijksproblematiek in Kultureelgemengde gezinnen met mediterrane vader en nederlandse moeder. *Ministerie van C.R.M.,* Rijswijk, 1978.
Erikson, E., Het kind en de samenleving (6e druk, 1972) *Children and society,* New York, 1963.
Ersem, Le passage: Socialisation des enfants de migrants. (Resp.: F. Bedrouh), Paris, 1977.
Eysenring, A.J., Op weg naar een transkulturele (Ortho) pedagogiek. Inzichten in de problematiese opvoedingssituatie van kinderen en jeugdigen uit allochtone milieus in Nederland, Den Haag, 1975.
Fitzpatrick, J., The importance of community in the process of immigrant Assimilation. *Int. Mig. Review,* I. I, 1967.
Gans, H., The Urban Villagers. Group and class in the life of Italian-Americans, New York-London, 1962.
Grange, P. Problèmes psychologiques de l'enfant étranger transplanté en France. Journées d'études sur les problèmes posés par la scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants, Lyon, avril 1976.
Hartman-Eeken, M., Turkse kinderen in niemandsland, Utrecht, 1977.
Instituto Español de Emigración., Ministerio de Trabajo: la familia del trabajador emigrante. *IIIe Congreso de la familia española,* Madrid, junio 1975.
Jarus, M.O., Marcus, J., Oren, J., Rapaport, Ch., (eds.) Children and families in Israel. Some mental health perspectives, New York-Paris-London, 1970.
Kohela, M., Het kind van de rekening. *Tijdschrift voor Maatschappijvraagstukken en Welzijnswerk,* 1973 (19), pp. 470-480.
Keulen (van), Anke, Ayse en de anderen (Scriptie), Utrecht, Universiteit, december 1977.
Kloeker, Ekkehard. Verhaltensstörungen, München, 1977. (vert: Gedragsstoornissen, Delft, 1978).
Luria, Alexandjer R., Cognitive Development. Its cultural and social foundations, Harvard, 1976 (Moscow, 1974).
Muñoz, Marie-Claude, Aspects psychologiques de l'adaptation des enfants migrants. *Education et Développement,* 1975, pp. 59-65.

Öztek, Zafer; Bertan, Münevver; Aygun, Renzi; Ünel, Inang., Healthproblems of the Turkish migrant workers children living in West-Berlin. Hacettepe University, School of Medicine, Ankara, 1977. (*Intern. Conference on the children of migrant workers. Problems specific to the countries of origin*, Ankara, June 7-10, 1977).

Palgi, P., The adaptability and vulnerability of types in the changing Israeli society. In: *Jarus*, e.a., 1970.

Persson, G., Schoolachievement of immigrant children: the impact of social class and nationality. *Intern. Migration* (16) 1, 1978, pp. 23-28.

Porcher, Louis, Pour un projet éducatif global. *Education et Développement*, 1975, pp. 70-79.

Sjölund, Arne, The effect of Daycare Institutions on Children's Development. An analysis of International Research. *The Danish National Institute of Social Research*, Kopenhagen, 1971.

Stewart-Prince, G., Mental health problems in pre-school West Indian Children. *Maternity and Child Care*, vol. III (26), 1967.

Tabouret-Keller

Testa Alvares, Juan, Problemas educativos de la familia emigrante, Madrid, 1974.

Triandis, H.C., Vassiliou, V., Vassiliou, G., Tanaka, e.a., The analysis of subjective culture, New York, 1972.

Vasquez, Ana; Richard, Gabrièlla, Problèmes d'adaptation en France des enfants réfugiés de la Côte sud de l'Amérique Latine. *Institut des Sciences de l'éducation. Université de Caen*, janvier-février 1978 (oorsp.: Spaans. Trad.: Gisèle Ladont).

Vassiliou, George, Aspects of Farents-Adolescent transaction in the Greek family. *Kaplan and Lebovici* (eds): *Psychosocial perspectives*, New York, 1965.

Viana, Wilton. Sindrome de Migraçao, Fundamentos psicanaliticos, sociologicos e terapéuticos. São Paolo, 1978.

Vlachos, Evangelos, The assimilation of Greek in the United States, Athens, 1968.

Whiting, B., Whiting, J., Children of six cultures, Cambridge, 1975.

Whiting, B.B., (ed.) Six cultures, studies of childrearing, New York-London, 1973.

Wülfing, Svea, Türkische Vorschulkinder in Köln, Köln, 1978.

Zaniti, Melika, Influence de l'absence du père sur le développement psycho-affectif des enfants de migrants, Tunis, 1977. *Intern. Conference on the children of migrant workers. Problems specific to the countries of origin*, Ankara, June 7-10, 1977.

Ziegler, Suzanne, The family Unit and International Migration: The perceptions of Italian Immigrant Children. *Intern. Migration Review*, vol. XI, No. 3, 1977, pp. 326-333.

Problems concerning Clandestine Migrant Children

BY MGR. GEORGES ROCHCAU

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The phrasing of the subtopic does not make me entirely happy, as it provides no help in identifying the different aspects of a serious and complex problem.

There are, in fact, three possible situations between which clear distinctions must be drawn:

I. The situation of children who reside illegally in a country of immigration, but whose parents' (or the father's) situation is in order from the viewpoint of residence and employment;

II. The situation of children who reside illegally in a country of immigration and whose parents' situation is also illegal;

III. The situation of children who are left behind in the country of origin, but whose father resides illegally in a foreign country.

I. The law of some countries does not permit certain categories of migrant workers to send for their children (e.g. the workers recruited on a yearly basis in Switzerland) or establishes a variable waiting period and various conditions (stable employment, adequate housing), which must be met before children can join their father.

Some migrant workers ignore this prohibition. Their children enter legally as visitors, then stay on illegally.

What are the consequences of such a situation?

The material circumstances of those children and adolescents are the same as those of all children of migrant workers, since their fathers are legally and gainfully employed. However, the situation as regards school education or vocational training is quite another matter. These children cannot go to school or receive vocational training because, as a rule, parents must furnish evidence of the children's legal residence before they can register them in any school.

In many cases the family's housing conditions are poor, since familysize accommodation is very rarely available to a worker who is supposed to be the only member of his family to reside in the country of immigration.

II. The second situation is more frequent. I have seen frequent examples of it in various South American countries, where a number of illegal migrants (*indocumentados*) have settled with their families.

The illegal migrant worker

- is paid lower wages than his legal counterpart;
- is frequently without a job and gets no compensation for it;
- is not covered by any social security scheme in case of sickness or accident;
- lives in the fear (although not always) of being found out and expelled.

While the children are often able to go to public schools, they suffer great hardships and a lack of security that is detrimental to their physical, occupational and mental development.

Note: I know of many instances where the bread-winner alone has been expelled, leaving his wife and children in the country of immigration where they have no means of support.

III. The third situation is frequently found in both Europe and America. The bread-winner resides and works illegally abroad, while his wife and children are left behind in the country of origin.

Materially, the situation is similar to that described under point II, save for two aggravating circumstances: a) the difficulty often experienced by the illegal migrant worker in transferring part of his earnings to the country of origin; b) the fact that he is separated from his family, as a clandestine worker is obviously not in a position to visit, once in a while, his family at home. Such a situation, in fact, leads to either a sudden or gradual destruction of the family nucleus; the children, moreover, depend entirely for support on their mother or grand-parents, who are left without assured ressources. While not in an illegal situation themselves, they suffer greatly from their father's illegal situation.

The sub-topic for discussion is 'Problems concerning clandestine migrant children'. While a few migrant children do enter the receiving country illegally, many more become illegal residents or suffer from the consequences of the illegal situations in which the father finds himself.

The scope of the problem is not insignificant, as it affects hundreds of thousands of children the world over.

What can be done for them? Such will be the subject of our debate.

The Situation of Migrant and Refugee Children in relation to the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child

BY MRS. E. UNDERHILL

PART I
HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

The first Declaration of the Rights of the Child was conceived and adopted in 1923 by the predecessor of the International Union of the Rights of the Child.

After the first World War the conditions of children in Europe were dramatic. Only about 60 years ago the following reports were published by *Dr. Nansen*, the first High Commissioner for Refugees:

Austria (1920): Between 91 and 93 per cent of the child population are under-nourished. In 1921, 75 per cent of the children were still under-nourished and suffered from rickets and scrofula. More than 50 per cent are tubercular. Small children never reach their normal weight level; at the age of four, they weigh 19.3 per cent less than the average. The increase in general mortality is 50 per cent; among children aged 2 to 15, it is as high as 60 per cent.

Belgium (1919): The weight and height of children aged 6 to 14 are far below normal. Morbidity is as much as 70 per cent in the schools.

Czechoslovakia (1918): Death strikes two babies out of three. Fifteen thousand children are tubercular, 13,500 of whom cannot receive care.

France (1919): Mortality among children who had received assistance before the war has risen from 11 per cent to 45 per cent. In Lille, out of 18,036 school children, over 8,000 should be under care in holiday homes. Out of 210 children in one school, only one child was normal.

Hungary: A million children need to be fed and clothed, 100,000 of them in Budapest. In a school on the outskirts of the capital, 90 per cent of the pupils are anaemic, under-nourished and tubercular. The children's meals (when they get more than one

per day) are composed of bread and of a coffee substitute; a few receive an apple or some soup, rare are those who eat pasta.

Poland: Between 3 and 4 million children are under-nourished and seriously ill. In Eastern Poland and Galicia, there are two million orphans and abandoned children.

Russia (1921): 'Hundreds and thousands of Russian children are dying of hunger and millions of others are threatened with the same fate. Convinced that only an unprecedented effort, immediately undertaken, can save them, I request the Save the Children International Union to appeal to men, women, and especially to children to give quickly all that they can economise, to save the little famished one in Russia. Never, in the history of the world, has help been more desperately needed. Every minute is precious.'

After a journey she made in the Balkan countries, *Eglantyne Tebb*, founder of one of the predecessors of the IUCW, felt the urgent need to come to the aid of the starving children and together with the first Secretary General of the Save the Children International Union (SCIU), *Etienne Clouzot*, and *Suzanne Ferrière* of the ICRC decided to take action on behalf of the 5 million children dying in Eastern Europe.

Eglantyne Tebb tore Etienne Clouzot away from his desk and took him with her up on the Salève to meditate. From this meditation emerged the first project for a Declaration of the Rights of the Child which was later known as the Declaration of Geneva.

On 21 November 1923, *Gustave Ador*, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Honorary member of the SCIU and former President of the Swiss Confederation, read the 'Declaration of Geneva' from the radio station on the Eiffel Tower.

Other countries, too, including Belgium and Czechoslovakia, used the radio to proclaim the Declaration and make it better known. The communiqués sent to the press were widely published.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child, known as the Declaration of Geneva, promulgated by the Save the Children International Union, adopted by the League of Nations, amended in 1948 by the SCIU, which had meanwhile become the International Union for Child Welfare, is to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations in 1959 what the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 was to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948.

The Declaration of Geneva is not a diplomatic international instrument; it does not bind governments or States. It is an act of faith. It expresses a hope.

The final text was voted by the Executive Committee on May 17th 1923, and ratified by the Fifth General Council on February 28th, 1924.

DECLARATION OF GENEVA

By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as the 'Declaration of Geneva', men and women of all nations, recognising that Mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their duty that, beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed:

I. THE CHILD must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

II. THE CHILD that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed;

and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.

III. THE CHILD must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.

IV. THE CHILD must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation.

V. THE CHILD must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow-men.

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child consisting of 10 principles was adopted by the General Assembly in 1959, again not on a legally binding basis but as a declaration of faith (*1*). Although in many ways it is the product of the aftermath of the Second World War, it is valid still and will survive any new convention in the same way as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights has survived the two Human Rights Conventions. As an expression of faith it cannot be replaced by international legal instruments which often are neither signed nor ratified, and rarely complied with.

THE DECLARATION AND THE CHILDREN OF MIGRANT WORKERS

Principles (1) and (10) of the Declaration are of particular importance in relation to the children of migrants, since they stipulate the right of all children to be treated alike (*2*).

However, legally equality of treatment and rights between migrant and national workers exists only in the following two communities where equality between members is strictly applied, although limited, with a few exceptions, to those members of the communities living and working in one of the member countries of each of these communities.

The first is the Nordic Council, composed of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Iceland, all nationals of which have the right of freedom of movement within their community and do not need work permits. The first convention on Social Security was passed in September 1955 (*3*) and further modifications of this convention have resulted in complete equality between the nationals of the Nordic Council, whether they work in their own country or in one of the other member countries. None of these rights apply to workers who are not nationals of members of the Nordic Council unless there are specific bilateral agreements.

The second community is the European Economic Community (*4*). Members of this Community can move freely to any of the other eight countries, work without a work permit and benefit from the same Social Security legislation as the nationals of the country in which they work. However, some social measures are subject to the local laws in force.

Migrants within both the EEC and the Nordic Council enjoy the unrestricted transfer of accrued insurance benefits, old age contributions and sickness benefits.

Consequently, in these two communities the children of migrant workers, nationals of member countries, enjoy the rights stipulated in principles (1) and (10) of the United Nations Declarations of the Rights of the Child.

1. The text of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child is reproduced as Annex I.
2. See Annex I.
3. Recueil des Traités des Nations Unies (RTNU) vol. 254, 434, 588 and SL 1961 & SL 1976.
4. Belgium, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom.

Apart from these statutory rights of migrant workers and their families, there are two further legal methods used for the protection of the migrant worker and his family.

The most effective means are bilateral agreements between a receiving and a sending country. One good example are the various bilateral agreements concluded by Yugoslavia with almost all the receiving countries, starting with the 1950 agreement with France up to the recent agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Yugoslav administrative, social and political institutions have taken a very active part in the work of all the international organizations which have discussed and legally regulated the position of the migrant in the countries of work and the possibilities of enforcing their rights are among the most significant factors determining his social position and the social problems he has to face. Yugoslav representatives always supported with determination the application of the principle of equality between the foreign and the indigenous worker in the receiving countries.

In particular, Yugoslav representatives have actively participated in the work of the International Labour Organisation during the past five to six years, especially in the elaboration and adoption of numerous resolutions and recommendations aimed at enhancing the social and legal position of migrant workers and their families. Usually, Yugoslav children are kept behind in their country and adequate measures have been taken by the Government to arrange for family allowances and security benefits to be received by the families.

Bilateral agreements between other countries also include specific provisions for family reunion, childrens' allowances and security benefits.

Further legal obligations to secure equality for migrants' children with their national counterparts derive from various international instruments, e.g. the UNESCO and ILO conventions as well as relevant conventions of the Council of Europe. These conventions are of course binding for those states only which have signed and ratified them. However, even if they have been ratified, it is often impossible to ensure their application. Some of these conventions deal specifically with one or more aspects concerning children of migrant workers, such as education, health, and protection against exploitation. However, only very few deal with children exclusively. One example is ILO Convention No. 138 (1973) on the Minimum Age of Employment. It was adopted with a view to achieving the total abolition of child labour.

The cardinal provision of Convention No. 138 is the establishment of 15 years as the minimum age for admission to employment. If the ratifying country requires compulsory attendance at school up to an older age, then the age of completion of compulsory schooling constitutes the minimum age for employment. The Convention thus aims at correlating school-leaving with capacity to engage in employment while maintaining the minimum standard of 15 years.

While the Convention establishes 15 years as a general minimum standard applicable to all forms of employment, it contains provision for this standard to be varied in the following specific cases:

(a) In recognition of the different character of the child labour problem in the Third World, the Convention allows developing countries to specify initially a minimum age of 14 years (8), and to limit initially the scope of application of the Convention to certain branches of economic activity or types of undertakings.
(b) The Convention does not apply to work done by children in schools or other training institutions for general, vocational or technical education (10).

(c) Children under 15 years may be employed in artistic performances where individually authorized to do so by the competent national authority (11).
(d) The Convention does not apply to family and small-scale agricultural holdings producing for local consumption and not regularly employing hired workers (12).
(e) Where the nature of work is such that it is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons, the minimum standard is raised from 15 to 18 years (13).

This Convention clearly reiterates principles (7) and (9) of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child. However, figures have just been published indicating that about 52 million children under the age of 15 are in fact not receiving any education and are working either in factories, private enterprises, on the land or with or for their parents.

Many of these children are children of migrant workers, most of them of migrant workers who are clandestine or illegally employed. It is a well known fact that in many countries young children of illegal workers are kept at home to look after even younger children thus being deprived of all education and often damaged in their health.

MEASURES BY UNITED NATIONS ENTITIES TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION AND ENSURE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF ALL MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

At its 34th Session in March 1978, the Human Rights Commission adopted a resolution on measures to improve the situation and ensure the human rights and dignity of all migrant workers (Resolution No. 20 (XXXIV) 1978).

Part A of the Resolution deals with the rights of the children of migrant workers and it was agreed to give high priority to the formulation of policies and implementation of measures to ensure the well-being and harmonious development of the children of migrant workers, with particular regard to health, education, adaptation to the host country and preservation of the cultural values of the country of origin. Activities in those fields could no doubt be effectively encouraged and coordinated in the context of the International Year of the Child.

Some speakers wondered whether policies to assist the children of migrant workers should not, in order to be really effective, include certain measures to compensate for the social and cultural handicaps from which such children suffered.

Emphasis was laid also on the need to encourage the reunion of the families of migrant workers and to promote the well-being and rights of migrant women.

Attention is drawn to operative paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the Resolution, which read as follows:

'The Commission on Human Rights:
2. *Request* Member States to strengthen and develop the measures designed to ensure the welfare of children of migrant workers and of their families as a whole;
3. *Also requests* the appropriate international organization of the United Nations system to give special attention, in the light of their respective contributions to the International Year of the Child, to these questions in the framework of their activities in connexion with migrant workers and together to ensure by appropriate means a

very wide dissemination of information on the measures taken to alleviate the difficulties encountered by migrant workers and their families;

4. *Invites* the Governments of host countries to consider the adoption of definitive measures to promote the normalization of the family life of migrant workers in their territory by the reunion of the families.'

At its 34th Session, the Human Rights Commission also decided to establish a Working Group to further consider related problems prior to the next session of the Commission itself. The Working Group met in December 1978 (See below).

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN NON-GOVERNMENTAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In view of the late date of the meeting of the Human Rights Commission's Working Group, which, it was felt, left too long a period between meetings, it was agreed to form a sub Working Group on children of migrant workers under the auspices of the Committee of non-Governmental Organizations for the International Year of the Child. It met in June 1978. A number of intergovernmental organizations, including ICEM and the Council of Europe, also participated.

At that meeting a statement was formulated on 'Measures to improve the situation and ensure the human rights and dignity of all migrant workers' based on a document established by IUCW(*1*). The full text was published and distributed by the Commission on Human Rights at its 35th Session.

WORKING GROUP OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The official Working Group under the auspices of the Commission on Human Rights met under the chairmanship of *Mario Jiménez de la Espada* (Spain) in December 1978. It considered the above-mentioned working paper.

A draft resolution submitted by the representatives of Colombia, Turkey and Yugoslavia was agreed to. Although the text mainly pertains to the rights of migrant workers in general, the following excerpts may be quoted as of special interest in the context of this paper.

'*The Commission of Human Rights:*
Believing that special attention should be paid to the problems of migrant workers and their families,
Emphasizing that the situation of the children of migrant workers is of paramount importance,
1. *Invite* all States to:

(a) Work towards the creation, at the national level, of the necessary conditions which would prevent migrant workers and their families in their working and private life from encountering discrimination (Principle 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child),
(b) Take all appropriate measures to ensure [illegible] the human rights, defined in the

1. The full text of that document is reproduced as Annex II.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the economic and social rights of migrant workers, be fully safeguarded under their domestic legislation;
(c) Apply relevant international instruments, bilateral and multilateral, and, if necessary, to conclude new bilateral and multilateral agreements designed, in particular, to improve the conditions of migrant workers and of their families and to eliminate the illicit traffic in foreign labour and the violations of human rights resulting therefrom;

2. *Invites* the Governments of host countries to:
(c) Take the necessary steps to promote the normalization of the family life of migrant workers through the reunification of their families on their territories, within the framework of their legislative systems;
(d) Give special attention to the situation of the children of migrant workers, envisage appropriate measures which would enable those children, while preserving their national values; to adjust to the society in which they live, and establish, in co-operation with the countries of origin, appropriate machinery to assure them of a bicultural education, and give to the children of migrant workers, as far as possible, access to the teaching of their mother tongue and culture, the general conditions applicable to such teaching, including those relating to co-ordination with standard teaching, to be laid down by the host country in co-operation with the country of origin;

7. *Decides:*
(b) to give priority, at its next session, to the following three questions:
(i) protection of the children of migrant workers against any form of discrimination and measures to be taken in order to facilitate their adaptation to the culture of the host country while maintaining and developing their knowledge of the language and national culture of the country of origin;'

Another debate was held in March 1979 by the Commission of Human Rights, which adopted Resolution No. 19 (XXXV) concerning a possible convention on the rights of the child(*1*).

MEASURES TO PROTECT MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES RETURNING TO THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

The above-mentioned United Nations Working Group specifically recommended the inclusion of the following measures as operative paragraph 4 in the text of the aforementioned Resolution:
'Requests host countries and countries of origin to co-operate in various ways through the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral agreements capable of solving the problems facing migrant workers and to work together in examining the reintegration of migrant workers in case of voluntary return to the country of origin, and recommends to this end that special attention should be paid to voluntary reintegration in the country of origin, which should be smooth and should take the economic context of the country of origin and possible vocational retraining into account;'

As can be seen from the above much has been done to bring the problem of the migrant worker's child to the attention of the public. And yet much more has to be

1. The full text of the Resolution is reproduced as Annex III.

done. No progress had been made up to the early 70's to help children to be integrated in the country of reception. But since then the situation has fundamentally changed in almost all industrial countries and many migrant families have had to return either to their country of origin or to another country.

There are, of course, many migrant workers (apart from seasonal workers) who, for a variety of reasons, return to their countries more or less voluntarily after only short periods of absence. Unfortunately, there are practically no statistics on returning migrants. As a result of the economic crisis which began in the early 70's, many migrants were forced to return to their country of origin after having been abroad for many years, only to discover that they could not find work there. Furthermore, they realized that they could not readjust either to the environment of their home country or to their former life-styles. In many cases, they were compelled to emigrate once more, sometimes back to the country they had left.

The difficulties of reintegration are especially acute for young returnees. The education and experience which they have acquired abroad may, in many cases, have had a favourable influence on their intellectual capacity, but this does not mean that they will be admitted more easily than their young compatriots to institutions for vocational training or higher education. On the contrary, both administrative regulations which fail to recognize the validity of foreign diplomas and the irrelevance of part of what they have learned to the culture and ways of thinking of their home country may stand in the way of their successful admission. Furthermore, young migrants experience the same difficulties in occupational reintegration as their elders. Reintegration may be particularly difficult for the young in that the decision to return home has more often than not been made for them by their parents.

Among other problems of adjustment, migrant children returning to their home country have to face the problem of reintegration into the educational system of their country. Changing schools is always a difficult experience for a child and an obstacle to normal scholastic progress and all the more so when the transfer takes place between two distinctly different educational systems. Migrant children who have been able to receive a bi-cultural education abroad are the least disadvantaged of all. Among the many less fortunate are those children who were born abroad or who migrated at pre-school age and are unable to read or write in their native language, or have such an inadequate knowledge of their country's culture that they find themselves in the extreme situation of being virtually foreigners in their homeland. Most returning children are in need of the same kind of transitional help as that applied in the case of new arrivals in receiving countries. Unfortunately, many of the sending countries are still struggling to ensure the access of all children to basic education, and are hard put to find the additional resources needed to tackle successfully the educational problems of returning migrant children.

There are also numerous cases where children had first to adapt themselves to the receiving country and then again to their country of origin.

During the first phase of migration to the receiving countries, which greatly helped to bolster the dwindling work forces in the industrialized countries, the policy of the receiving countries was quick adaptation and assimilation of the migrant worker to his new environment.

A variety of means is used to encourage families to return.

Transfer of social benefits. There are some countries which allow the transfer of old age pensions and the return of some contributions to sickness, maternity, unemploy-

ment and social security benefits to migrant workers when they return to their own countries. They are based on bilateral agreements.

In most of these cases, only some of the contributions can be transfered. Neither Denmark nor Ireland transfer any contributions at all to any foreign country. Some sending countries, such as Italy, Turkey and Yugoslavia, do attempt to help their own returnees, either financially or by providing vocational training.

Vocational training. A number of countries have made arrangements with sending countries to provide migrant workers with some vocational training in order to encourage them to return to their country of origin.

In July 1976, the German Government decided to work out, in consultation with interested governments, social and vocational re-integration programmes.

In December 1976 at the request of Algeria, but financed by France, a special 6-month course for training instructors and long-distance lorry drivers was offered in France, as an inducement to migrant workers to return to their country of origin.

Two agreements have recently been signed which include measures facilitating the return of migrant families. The first agreement, between France and Tunisia, relates to disability, old age and death insurances. In 1973, agreement had been reached between the two countries concerning the exchange of technicians and experts and the training of personnel working in telecommunications, radio and television.

The second agreement is one which was signed between France and Portugal in Lisbon on 11 January 1977, and concerns the immigration, situation and social advancement of Portuguese workers and their families in France. According to the terms of the agreement, measures will be taken to facilitate the professional promotion and social advancement of these workers and their families, and to improve their working and living conditions in general. Whilst avoiding isolating these families from the indigenous community, every attempt will be made to respect and develop their cultural identity and heritage. Provision is also made in this agreement to facilitate the reintegration of these workers and families, should they decide of their own accord to return to Portugal.

A very interesting example is Turkey whose migrant workers return home at their own initiative: The first stage of a scheme of investing in the textile industry in Turkey out of funds saved by Turkish emigrant workers employed in the Federal Republic of Germany, the 'Mercic-Tekstil', a spinning mill employing initially 400 persons, was inaugurated in May 1975. Eighty four per cent of the capital of this joint-stock company, i.e. 12.5 million marks, is held by 5,000 Turkish workers in the Federal Republic of Germany. The second stage, the construction of a cloth-works, will cost 17 million marks, and 85 per cent of this will be financed by these workers. The final stage, a complete production process ranging from the treatment of the raw material to the manufacture of clothing, should provide employment for 5,000 people. The senior management staff of this company was trained in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Turkish Government has granted the company tax concessions and subsidies and has authorized duty-free import of machinery.

For several years, the Turkish Government has been encouraging Turks working abroad – especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, where more than 500,000 Turkish workers are employed – to invest their savings in Turkey; these savings amounted to almost 1,500 million US dollars in 1974. There were plans to set up a new bank in 1975 to handle workers' industrial investments so that workers' savings could be channelled into the new industries.

Action taken by the Council of Europe. The Resettlement Fund, set up by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in 1956, is a European financial institute serving a social function. It is attached to the Council of Europe and is administered under its supreme authority, although it has its own legal status which enables it to conclude contracts and to acquire and dispose of immovable and movable property.

The Fund favours certain schemes designed to create the right economic conditions for the migrants' social and occupational reintegration in the countries of origin.

Government initiatives. I have already mentioned the particular way in which Yugoslavia tries to deal with the problem of reintegration of migrant workers and their families:

As mentioned before, Yugoslav administrative, social and political institutions have taken a very active part in the work of all the international organizations which have discussed and legally regulated the position of the migrant worker in Europe. Considering that the legal position of the migrant in the countries of work and the possibilities of enforcing their rights are among the most significant determining factors of social position and social problems. Yugoslav representatives have always supported with determination the application of the principle of making the foreign worker the equal of the indigenous worker in the receiving countries.

As a result of the Decree 'Social agreement on the temporary employment of Yugoslav citizens abroad and the return of Yugoslav citizens from work abroad' it was possible to assess the need for stimulating the productive saving investments of the migrants and the reintegration of the returnees in the economic life of Yugoslavia. According to this decree, the communities are obliged to work out programmes of measures for the gradual reintegration of returnees from work abroad.

International organizations and sending countries are becoming increasingly concerned with the problems of how to make migration fit into a pattern of international development. Sending countries are demanding that the aims they have set for their own economic development should not be hampered by emigration. Various methods are already being used or are at least being considered in order to counteract the negative effects of emigration on the development process of countries of origin. Methods which could be mentioned in this context are: planned emigration policies (as in Yugoslavia, where certain occupation groups which are needed in the country are denied the assistance of the employment service if they wish to work abroad); channelling of workers' remittances into projects for the creation of employment (experiments are being carried out, above all, in Turkey and Yugoslavia); bilateral collaboration between the immigration country and the emigration country to invest in the former instead of recruiting workers from the same country (discussions on these lines have taken place, for instance, between the Federal Republic of Germany and Yugoslavia and between Sweden and Finland); transfer of the taxes paid by immigrants in the host country to their countries of origin (proposals of this kind have been put forward by the Italian Government and by Finnish migration experts vis-à-vis Sweden); inclusion of emigration countries in the programme of aid to underdeveloped countries (as in the Netherlands); and also, attempts to induce as many skilled industrial workers as possible to return to development projects providing employment for the unemployed in their native countries.

PART II

REFUGEE CHILDREN AND CHILDREN OF REFUGEES

It is estimated that one out of 100 refuges in the world today is a child, and children of refugees and refugee children constitute a special category among the disadvantaged children in the world. They are under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees who assist up-rooted persons who have been displaced either within their own countries or who find themselves outside their homeland. The activities of the UNHCR with the help of other intergovernmental organizations such as ICEM as well as of the non-governmental organizations have a particular impact on children as regards resettlement, education, vocational training and family reunion.

The most important international instruments on refugees belong to the Human Rights system, more precisely to the United Nations Human Rights system. These instruments are an organic part of the law of Human Rights. The Convention relating to the status of refugees which is the basic international instrument on the protection of the status of refugees which is the basic international instrument on the protection of refugees contains provisions dealing with the protection of refugees as well as their fundamental rights and freedoms, such as the right of movement and residence, owning property, practising religion, social security, education, etc. Since these are almost identical with the rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it can be added that the Geneva Convention on refugees undertakes to invest foreigners residing as refugees in a host country with the rights and freedoms specifed in the Universal Declaration. In this sense, we may call it the Convention on Human Rights for Refugees.

The extent to which countries observe the standards laid down in the main international instruments in this field (the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees) is of paramount importance.

For example, Article 22 of the 1951 Convention specifies that: 'Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education'. Chapter IV.B (2) of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons 'recommends Governments to take the necessary measures for the protection of the refugee's family, especially with a view to: the protection of refugees who are minors, in particular unaccompanied children and girls, with special reference to guardianship and adoption'.

In addition to the 1951 Convention, the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child provided in principle (3) that the child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Some countries have the *just solis* but in others children of stateless parents can remain without nationality until their death and the death of their children. Yet some other countries have formed some interim solutions: continuous residence in one country for various periods of time but this does not apply to the refugee 'in orbit'. This leads to a perpetuation of the refugee status ad infinitum.

The question of dispersed families is dealt with in Protocols IV to the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Article 74 of Protocol I provides as follows:

"The High Contracting Parties and the Parties to the conflict shall facilitate in every possible way the reunion of families dispersed as a result of armed conflicts and shall encourage in particular the work of the humanitarian organizations engaged in this task in accordance with the provisions of the Conventions and of this Protocol and in

conformity with their respective security regulations.'

In the man-made upheavals that create refugees, it often happens that the family is dispersed because some members must leave, while others stay behind. Working on a purely humanitarian basis and keeping in mind the best interests of the children, the UNHCR is often instrumental in achieving their reunion with their parents. It is to be noted that such solutions do not depend on the UNHCR alone, and the IYC could highlight the need for understanding throughout the international community for this aspect of the work of the UNHCR.

The above-mentioned considerations are intended to outline in a succint way some of the main tasks carried out by the UNHCR to protect children of refugees and refugee children. In line with the foregoing it can be stated that the reaffirmation and the adoption of a comprehensive juridical instrument dealing with the rights of the child, regardless of his legal and political status or that of his parents, on the occasion of the International Year of the Child would be a very constructive step forward in promoting these rightsthroughout the world as well as in shaping various forms of international co-operation in this field. The UNHCR will continue its efforts to reinforce and develop the legal protection of children of refugees and refugee children without any discrimination around the world(*1*).

However, it is not only the task of the UNHCR, or other organizations to reinforce and develop the legal protection of children of refugees and refugee children but of all governments who are signatories of the various legal instruments and who have adopted declarations and resolutions providing that all children, without any exception whatsoever shall be entitled to all rights given to children without distinction and discrimination.

CONCLUSIONS

As will be seen from the foregoing, considerable progress has been made in the formulation of principles and promulgation of international instruments pertaining to the rights of the child since the adoption of the Declaration of Geneva in 1924.

Further and intensified efforts to promote and ensure application of the principles expressed therein have been stimulated under the impetus of the International Year of the Child, the very concept of which calls for special and further initiatives in favour of particularly disadvantaged children, a group which clearly includes migrant and refugee children in particular.

Occasions such as the ICEM Seminar are important opportunities to examine practical measures to ensure implementation of the principles expressed in the existing instruments, as well as of further ones under consideration in various international bodies.

There is clearly a demand for a uniform system for all migrant workers which can be legally enforced to give all migrant workers and, in particular their children, the same rights as those possessed by EEC workers, for example.

This also applies to children left behind in their country of origin; family allowances and social and sickness benefits, as well as educational grants, should be transferable from all countries to all migrant workers' children.

Only then can it be said that some of the principles of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child are being complied with.

1. Professor *Patrnogic*, Deputy Director of the legal protection of the UNHCR.

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Principle 1
The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. Every child, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2
The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3
The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4
The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end, special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5
The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6
The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, in any case, in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of State and other assistance towards the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7
The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8
The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any forms.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood, and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

ANNEX II

COMMISSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Thirty-fifth session
Item 14 of the provisional agenda

E/CN.4/NGO/234

MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION AND ENSURE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY OF ALL MIGRANT WORKERS

Written statement submitted by the International Union for Child Welfare, a non-governmental organization in category II consultative status

The Secretary-General has received the following statement, which is circulated in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV).

(9 January 1979)

WORKING GROUP OF THE NGO-IYC COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD SUB-GROUP ON THE CHILDREN OF MIGRANT WORKERS
Meeting of 22 to 23 June 1978 at the I.U.C.W., Geneva

Education

Starting from the assumption that States have a declared policy of ensuring access to education for the children of migrant workers, the sub-working group stressed the value of determining the efforts made by interested States in favour of both:

- the integration of migrant workers in the compulsory education systems existing in the countries concerned;
- the preservation of the culture (language, civilization, history, etc.) of the countries of origin.

In this connexion, it would be necessary to establish:

- Whether international agreements exist between the countries of origin and the host countries in this respect;
- who is responsible for experiences attempted in the area of bi-cultural or inter-cultural development? Are such initiatives undertaken within or outside of the host country's educational system?
- what educational programmes have been adopted or are envisaged to ensure the effectiveness of such initiatives?
- what measures are taken to encourage, with the assistance of both public and private bodies, the organization of 'supervised study periods' after classes designed to provide educational assistance to children who are not helped at home?
- what measures have been taken to provide:
- information to teachers of the host countries regarding the cultural and social backgrounds of migrant children, and
- pedagogical training of those teachers

Health and social welfare

Studies undertaken in several countries have revealed the existence of numerous health problems among the children of migrant workers and have also shown that migrant families often make insufficient and inadequate use of available health and social services in the host countries.

If such a situation exists in your country, could you indicate whether or not some measures have been taken to improve the situation, particularly in the following areas:

- information to migrant families on health and social services available and information on how to use these services;
- the provision of interpreters for health and social services, in order to help communication

between their staff and migrant families;
- the training of health services staff in the host country with regard to the specific health problems of migrant children and families;
- possibilities of employing the services of the staff of health and social services from the migrants' countries of origin.

With a view to providing information to the competent educational bodies, the subgroup took cognizance of the existence of a booklet recording 'Education and Health of Children Educated Abroad' adopted by the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe.

- Are you aware of the existence of this booklet?
- If yes, are you using it?
- If you are using it, have you developed a system of information modelled on the guidelines contained in this booklet?

Children of migrants born in the host country: the second generation

In spite of the fact that in certain countries, particularly in Europe, measures have been introduced since 1974 to curb immigration, the foreign populations of certain industrialized countries either remain stable or have a tendency to increase on account of the following two factors:
- movements caused by family regroupings;
- the relatively high birth-rate among migrant workers.

This situation has led the sub-working group to consider problems related to the children of *second generation migrants* who are constantly increasing in numbers and who feel out of their element despite efforts made to favour their integration.

In addition to information on the cultural and education aspects of the situation, mentioned previously in the context of educational problems, the subgroup considers that it would be useful to receive information on measures taken by States concerning:
- naturalization;
- residence permits;
- work permits;
- recognition by the countries concerned (both the host countries and the countries of origin) of academic or professional diplomas as well as professional qualifications;
- social and professional integration.

ANNEX III

RESOLUTION NO. 19 (XXXV) OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE QUESTION OF A CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD(1)

A

The Commission on Human Rights,

Having in mind the draft convention on the rights of the child submitted by Poland on 7 February 1978, (2)

Taking into account the report of the Secretary-General on the views, observations and suggestions on the question of the convention on the rights of the child submitted by Member States, competent specialized agencies, regional intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations (E/CN.4/1324 and Corr.1 and Add.1-4),

Taking note of the report of the Working Group set up at the thirty-fifth session of the Commission to draw up the convention on the rights of the child (E/CN.4/L.1468),

Considering that owing to lack of time it was not possible to complete work on the draft convention on the rights of the child,

Recalling Economic and Social Council resolution 1978/18 of 5 May 1978 and General Assembly resolution 33/166 of 20 December 1978 relating to the question of the convention on the rights of the child,

Convinced that it would be desirable to adopt an international convention on the rights of the child in connexion with the International Year of the Child,

1. Decides to continue as its thirty-sixth session, as a matter of priority, its work on a draft convention on the rights of the child with a view to completing, if possible, the elaboration of the said convention at that session for transmission to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council;

2. Request the Economic and Social Council to bring to the notice of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session the present resolution and the relevant chapter of the report of the Commission on Human Rights on its thirty-fifth session.

B

The Commission of Human Rights,

Having in mind the fact that the General Assembly in its resolution 31/169 of 21 December 1976 proclaimed 1979 as the International Year of the Child,

Conscious of the need further to strengthen the comprehensive care and well-being of children all over the world,

Convinced of the importance of international co-operation in this field,

Desiring to make its contribution to the observance of the International Year of the Child and to its follow-up activities,

Invites the Secretary-General to consider the possibility of organizing, within the framework of advisory services in the field of human rights, a two-week seminar on the rights of the child in the light of international instruments concerning human rights and questions of their implementation and progressive development.

1. Adopted at the 1522nd meeting, on 14 March 1979, without a vote.
2. See resolution 20 (XXXIV) of the Commission of Human Rights, annex.

Resettlement in the United States of unattached and unaccompanied Indochinese Refugee Minors (1975-1978) by Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service

BY INGRID WALTER
IN COOPERATION WITH CORDELIA COX

INTRODUCTION

Perspectives of the report. This paper reviews briefly the experience of the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) of the Lutheran Council in the United States of America (LCUSA) in the resettlement of 156 unaccompanied and unattached Indochinese refugee minors from the period of April 1975 through December 15, 1978. It has been prepared for the Fourth ICEM-sponsored Seminar on the Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants, May 1979, as a contribution to Section A, subtopic of the tentative agenda entitled, 'The special Needs of Refugee Children in Countries of Temporary Asylum and Final Destination.'

The review was undertaken to learn *(1)* something about the characteristics and needs of the minors who were resettled, *(2)* the experience of resettlement and *(3)* possible ways by which this and other programs might be strengthened in the interest of refugee minors. Information on which the paper is based is drawn primarily from personal contacts with the staff of Lutheran social service agencies (LSS), interviews with the refugee minors and interviews with foster parents. LSS agency reports and records have supplemented these sources. Also, the thinking of some Indochinese professionals and of governmental staff who are active in resettlement has been used.

While it speaks directly to the LIRS experience in the resettlement of unaccompanied refugee minors through LSS agencies, the findings should be useful to other agencies in other nations.

The American pattern of government and voluntary agency cooperation. LIRS is a department of the Lutheran Council in the USA, an agency for cooperative work of four Lutheran church bodies: The American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. They represent nearly nine million Lutherans in the United States. These church bodies have delegated matters pertaining to policies and programs for refugees and immigrants to LIRS. In the refugee resettlement work, LIRS seeks the participation of 18,000 Lutheran congregations. From 1975 through 1978, sponsorships were found for 23,000 refugees from Indochina. From 1948 to 1975, it had assisted over 100,000 refugees to build up a new life in the United States.

LIRS is one of a group of national voluntary agencies which see the resettlement of refugees as a responsibility to and a contribution towards the relief of human suffering. These agencies recognize the interdependence of all peoples and the consequent importance to all people of the welfare of refugee populations. Since World War II, almost two million refugees have come to the United States, most of them with the assistance and sponsorship of the voluntary agencies which have a wide network of constituents throughout the country. Their resettlement programs are linked to local churches, synagogues, social service agencies and other organizations. Over the years, they have also sought more equitable refugee policies. They share their philosophy and expertise with each other, their local affiliates, constituents, administrative and legislative branches of the government and others.

The term 'voluntary agency' as used in this report may be defined as an agency which has been created by a concerned constituency of individuals, groups or organizations for a specific service such as the resettlement of refugees. The agency may be a unit of a nationality, religious or fraternal organization, or it may be an independent entity. It is not a unit of government, but it may cooperate voluntarily with government programs. It has sources of funding within its constituency, but also may use public funds when they are available for purposes appropriate to its mission.

The national voluntary resettlement agencies involved in the Indochina refugee program are: American Council for Nationalities Service (ACNS), American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees (AFCR), Church World Service (CWS), HIAS, International Rescue Committee (IRS), LIRS, Migration and Refugee Services of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), and Tolstoy Foundation (TF). They coordinate their efforts and work toward improvement of programs and policies in a forum provided through membership in the American Council for Voluntary Agencies in the Foreign Service (ACVA).

The U.S. government's Indochina Refugee Program has responded to the immediate need with various patterns for the admission of refugees and for financing necessary supporting services. The pressure of a particular need has been a determining factor in each program undertaken. Consequently, the implementation and financing of the programs have had a quality of emergency actions. Often long-range planning has not been possible. However, even in emergency situations, the cooperative working relationships between government and voluntary agencies have been the hallmark of the programs which have been implemented since 1948.

Additional partners in the resettlement process are intergovernmental agencies and international voluntary agencies. In the present Indochinese program, the offices of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are among those which have been active as have the Lutheran World Federation, the International Committee of the Red Cross and others. Through this partnership (United States governmental agencies, United States voluntary agencies, intergovernmental agencies and international voluntary agencies), a way of work has developed which has been responsive to refugee needs.

In the LIRS program, sponsorship of refugee families is carried primarily by congregations with supporting services from LSS agencies. On the other hand, responsibility for the resettlement of unaccompanied children and youth is carried by LSS agencies with supporting services from congregations as necessary. LIRS serves both groups in its policy making and supporting role.

The Lutheran social service agencies described in this report are autonomous organizations within a state or an area. Their functions are to provide social services for their

constituents and others who may request or need help. Child welfare programs are usually constituent parts of the agencies. Staff trained in social service areas, usually social workers, develop and maintain adoption, foster home, mental health, protective and family counselling services. These agencies have been created for social welfare purposes. Financial support comes from individuals, congregations and synodical bodies, voluntary community funds and governmental contracts. The Lutheran churches in the United States are fortunate in having many agencies of this kind.

The LIRS program for Indochina unnaccompanied refugee minors. From April 1975 to December 1978, the United States has admitted a total of 175,000 Indochinese refugees (families and unaccompanied minors) for resettlement. In the group are about 800 unaccompanied minors. Of the total groups, LIRS has assisted in the resettlement *The LIRS program for Indochina unaccompanied refugee minors.* From April 1975 to December 1978, the United States has admitted a total of 175,000 Indochinese refugees (families and unaccompanied minors) for resettlement. In the group are about 800 unaccompanied minors. Of the total group, LIRS has assisted in the resettleme...

As of December 15, 1978, a total of 122 unaccompanied Indochinese refugee minors had received their original resettlement assistance through LIRS-related agencies. Another 34 minors who came with relatives or non-related family groups, or whose original placements were made by other agencies, were accepted for care. The majority of the minors, 127, were young men between the ages of 5[1] and 18[2] at the time of their arrival. Twenty-nine young women who were assisted were between the ages of 2[3] and 18. The great majority of the minors to date have been Vietnamese.

A problem exists for agencies and for the minors themselves in that the ages given on their official papers may not be accurate. For various reasons, including the wish to avoid conscription into the armed forces of their countries, the ages given were often low. The minors hesitate to correct these inaccuracies. The agency finds that plans suitable for a 14-years old, as given on the official record are not suitable for planning for a 16-year old. Unfortunately, these same inaccuracies may appear in records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Also, as noted, statistical records of ages may not be dependable.

In the United States, one of the primary patterns of care for children unable to live in their own homes is known as 'foster home care'. In the majority of states, such homes have to be licensed or certified by public or private child welfare agencies in com- child welfare agency to which a child has been entrusted and which knows the needs of the child, seeks a home in which the child can be sheltered and nurtured. The task of finding an appropriate home involves understanding of the child and skill in evaluating ding an appropriate home involves understanding of the child and skill in evaluating and choosing the foster parents to whom the child will be entrusted. American couples are interested in offering this type of service to children. When they receive a child, they are acquainted with his needs by the agency, their role and the role of the agency are carefully defined, and plans are made for continued contacts with the home and child. Usually, the foster parents receive maintenance costs and medical and educational costs for the child from the local public child welfare department. The agreement to give care

1. The parents of the five-year old boy arrived soon after him. He was released to them.
2. Ages available for many youth are inaccurate. Some of them were more then 18 on arrival. They received resettlement service similar to those given younger youth.
3. The parents of the two-year old girl arrived soon after her arrival. She was released to them.

to the child can be terminated at any time if the foster parents or the agency determine that termination is desirable. The welfare of the child and his wishes play an important role in this decision making process.

The LIRS program has used American foster homes as a primary resource for resettlement. Originally, foster home placements were initiated for the 156 youth. The majority of them have received, or will receive, foster home care until the age of 18. Some were released to their natural parents or relatives; a few disturbed youth received or are receiving care in group treatment centers and hospitals. Others have been helped to establish independent living arrangements with a minumum of direct agency supervision. A few others have left their homes without consultation with foster parents or agency. Because the experience of the LIRS program has been primarily in the use of American foster homes, this report highlights that experience.

The foster parents who have opened their homes to non-English speaking adolescents and pre-adolescents might be characterized generally as secure, middle-class Americans who are compassionate, concerned with childhood development, and interested in an experience with another culture. Successful foster parents have shown willingness to accept the minors as individuals of value, to understand some of their pressures and uncertainties, and to offer friendship and patient guidance. They have come from various walks of life. Among them are teachers, pastors, social workers, parole officers, policemen, merchants, secretaries, electricians, managers of stores, laboratory technicians, supervisors of offices and industrial production and personnel in the armed services.

The LIRS-assisted minors fall into two groups: (1) Those who fled in 1975 at the time of the fall of the South Vietnamese government and the withdrawal of the United States armed services and (2) Those who are now fleeing from their homelands.

(i) *The 1975 refugees.* The first group assisted by Lutheran agencies fled in 1975 as the United States withdrew from South Vietnam. They are primarily Vietnamese, though among them are some Cambodians and Laotions. Many of the unaccompanied youth are from families with South Vietnam military connections or connections with United States agencies which operated in South Vietnam. They suffered loss and deprivation during the war. Many had studied at the high school level. These young people arrived in 1975 and were transferred to one of the four refugee holding camps within the continental United States.

It took a long time for the authorities in the holding camps to establish special procedures for the unaccompanied minors. Their care was placed with the Department of Social Services of each camp which authorized the release from the camp (usually to a foster home) and transferred the social information to the Social Service Department of the state to which the minor was going. Many minors were released with distant relatives as members of extended Indochinese families; in some instances, they were mistakenly released as family members, whereas, in fact, they were unrelated or in some instances servants.

The last holding camp to be closed was Camp Chaffee in Arkansas. There were 183 minors who needed special placement. LIRS responded to the needs of this group. Seventy-four of the Fort Chaffee group were accepted by Lutheran social service agencies for care. Their adjustment is described in this report as well as that of the 34 minors who later on came under the care of Lutheran agencies when the original plans made for them became unsatisfactory, such as in cases where relatives were unwilling to continue to care for them, etc.

Flight for the 1975 group of minors took place during the period of falling governments, uncertainty and fear of new governments and, in the case of the Vietnamese, amid the efforts of the United States to evacuate natives who had been employed in United States agencies. The tragic reality of the social and economic destruction they were witnessing, the mass flight of their countrymen, and the bleakness of the future all played their part in what happened. It appears that decisions to leave made by these youth were at least semi-self-chosen decisions. Few have given indication of being forced into a boat, plane or motor vehicle. On the other hand, many were fleeing *from* a situation rather than fleeing to a selected refuge. Many thought at first in terms of temporary flight to safety. Only later did they realize flight had divorced them from parents and their homelands.

(ii) *The 'boat refugees'.* The group now fleeing are known as the 'boat people'. They flee by sea, often in unseaworthy boats. They may spend what capital they have for boat passage. Livelihood and freedom in their homelands are being seriously curtailed by totalitarian and military regimes. Small business, farms, fishing operations and other vocations of the lower middle-class are being threatened and confiscated. For the youth, there is special danger of conscription into the services which maintain armed control over their countries. The driving forces of these people are to get out and to rebuild their lives elsewhere. The unaccompanied refugee minors among them fall into three categories: (1) Lower-middle-class youth from Vietnamese families, (2) Ethnic Chinese youth whose parents are of the merchant class, and whose families may have lived in Vietnam for generations and (3) An occasional Laotian or Cambodian who escaped to the shore of Southeast Asia. These 'boat youth' are being brought directly to their destinations in the United States from Asian countries of first asylum where they were sheltered in temporary camps which are being operated by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. As of December 15, 1978, 48 LIRS-sponsored unaccompanied minors have arrived.

This group presents a special problem in that no adequate information on their backgrounds, personalities and needs has been available. Initial planning is done without sufficient knowledge of the individuals to be served. As the movement from Asian camps progresses, it is hoped that it may be possible to place social service staffs in the camps to secure and transmit to the agencies some of the data needed for planning. A recommendation to that effect was made by the Children's Committee of the American Council of Voluntary Services (ACVA) on September 30, 1977, but is yet to be implemented. The text of the recommendations is enclosed as an appendix.

Flight for the 'boat people' seems to have in it less hysteria and more planning than was true of the first group. In going, they risk extreme privation and life itself as they enter the boats. One youth embarked with 22 other young men of whom only five survived to be rescued. Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese ethnic parents are sending their youth out for preservation, or the youth leave of their own volition believing they face grave danger and have no future in their homelands.

Reports indicate some of the Vietnamese are street children who have earned their living by their wits. In general, their educational level is not as high as those who came earlier. On the other hand, it also seems that about half of the ethnic Chinese youth may be coming as a part of family plans in which eventual reunion abroad is the goal. These young people are highly motivated and functioning at normal grade levels in the high schools.

The youth in foster homes. To date, Lutheran agencies have found foster placement in American homes to be the most acceptable method for nurture of the refugee youth. These agencies have contracted with state departments of social services to assume placement responsibility under the laws of the state in which they operate. They are well-established in the geographical area in which they work. Over period of years, they have maintained child welfare programs of recognized quality. Some have special skill in working with troubled and handicapped youth. The expertise and commitment they bring to the resettlement of refugee youth account for much of the success the program is experiencing.

Foster home placement for an American child can be a fear-laden experience which leads to 'acting out' or 'withdrawing' behavior. An adolescent may be particularly vulnerable in placement because of the rebelliousness and quest for indentity common to his age. However, the behavior of the adolescent may reflect positive as well as negative feelings. Periods of tranquility denoting a sense of well-being may come to the fore.

The same is true for refugee adolescents. They, too, have periods of inner peace; traumatic periods may come only occasionally. Yet a series of interviews with refugee minors, foster parents and agency staff, indicate foster home placement for a refugee teenager can be tumultuous and traumatic. Home ties have been permanently severed, yet loyalty remains. 'Own' home and foster home mores differ. While there may be long periods of relaxation, comfort and comparative ease, fear, uncertainty, guilt for deserting the parents and grief in their loss make acceptance of new parental figures difficult. Inability to communicatie in English exaggerates the difficulty. The newcomer looks different, feels different and *is* different from his assigned American family. The foster parents and their children feel the difference too. Without the immediate resource of language, parents must search for other supportive relationships to sustain the teenage foster child.

Any generality has its exceptions, but foster parents and refugee youth alike have reported that among common negative responses to the foster home are fear, a sense of helplessness, anger to be in such a situation, despair, feelings of loss of identity and self worth, and frequent experiences of loneliness and guilt.

For a few days, or many months, the minor may appear to be a conforming, scared, polite youth who keeps his feelings under control (or hidden). With a tiny foothold of security, negative feelings may come to the fore to the bewilderment of foster parents and youth. At some stage in the adjustment process, this negative feeling may result in refusal to cooperate (or even eat if the food is strange), flares of temper, aggressiveness, retreat for days to bed or room, nightmares, headaches and the impulse to run away. The internal struggle between the wish for independence and the fear of trying to exist on their own resources is a serious one for many of them. Some youth remembering the devastation of their countries harbor unexpressed resentment of the United States. It is significant that only an occasional secure youth can acknowledge this feeling.

For many Indochinese minors, feelings are complicated by the role of the foster mother who usually takes primary responsibility for their behavior and well-being. In the home country, the father was undisputed family head. He gave the orders. Now the youth are subject to a woman. She provides for them and assigns behavior, chores and responsibilities. Another difficulty for some boys is that a boy may be smaller than his American peers; this can occasion difficult adjustment.

Many come with expectations for freedom to do what they please and some expect

to be indulged with an inexhaustable supply of material things. Failure of these expectant hopes may feel like rejection. As a consequence, youth have been surly or uncommunicative, resistive to the overtures of others, angry with self and family. As such times because they are newcomers, they lack the support of a peer group to whom they can turn in their unhappiness. Their behavior appears ungracious and ungrateful.

The usual refugee minor has known love at home and has felt the support of an extended family of parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins. Now this security is gone. Even in his native language, the minor may be unable to verbalize what is wrong. He is miserable; the family becomes miserable. The minor feels he has no place anywhere. At the same time, he may be struggling with the uncertainty of the fate of his family and whether to risk trying to establish contact with them.

The teenagers described above may change in attitude from day to day. They cannot be sure of themselves, nor can the parents be sure what will happen next. 'I hated me,' 'I was all mixed up' are comments from two of them.

The foster parents experience. Wat kind of parents can cope with such recurring trauma with satisfaction to themselves and their foster children? Experience to date indicates they must be stable people secure in themselves and each other so they present a united front of concern and good will. If they have had previous experience with their own adolescents, this can be helpful. The particular needs of the children to be placed is a primary consideration in the selection of the parents.

Time and again, parents reported that affection, patience, humor and willingness to spend time are the ingredients for establishing relationships. Advice from foster parents is to remember the difficult behaviors are similar to, even if more exaggerated than, those of other teenagers, and that with time positive changes can come. Experience has shown that even when placements have failed and replacements have become necessary, it is possible to discern increasing stability as the young person increases in years and experience. Often insights gained by such upheavals enable agency staff to meet the need of the youth in further planning.

Foster parents counsel, too, that in fostering a refugee boy or girl one enters upon a long-range enterprise. The youth will need protection and care until the age of emancipation, 18 years. Thereafter, by mutual consent, the foster home can be the place of reference and refuge as the young person moves into adult life.

One parent advised, 'Select a few important rules and behaviors and require them. Delay other requirements for conformity until they have been mastered'. Consistent, kindly firmness has brought about acceptable behavior. Another piece of practical advice is that parents not let difficulties go on 'too long'. When misunderstandings arise, it is the parent who carries responsibility to reach out to the youth. Recognition of the dignity and worth of the refugee culture and of the attributes of the teenagers themselves has been helpful. Parents have recognized the importance of building these feelings of self worth. Parents report that their lives are enriched by the presence of the refugee youth. They speak of joy in seeing them grow towards adequate adulthood and of pleasure in experiencing a culture new to them.

Other advice from foster parents to foster parents is to be natural – to be themselves. If they fear that exhibiting this naturalness may be misunderstood, the counter consideration is that there can be no long-term adjustment until parents and child are accepting of each other. Trust is essential.

The support of a competent agency serves as a strength for parents and minors. This

147

is a contribution which social service agencies have to offer. Professional competence, resources, time and commitment to the needs of homeless adolescents are necessary ingredients for agency service. Agencies help to interpret the cultures of American and refugee homelands, what to expect, the experiences of other parents and children, legal and agency requirements and the joys and aggravations of the task which has been undertaken. Consultation and interpretation to the parents and to youth are of equal importance in assuring the success of foster homes.

Group meetings of foster parents who have received, or are planning to receive, Indochina refugee minors are proving valuable to foster parents and social service agency staff. In such meetings, explanations of government and agency policies can be made, adjustment experience shared and questions answered. The foster parents can come to an acceptance of strains and tensions which can be reduced but not necessarily eliminated. In foster parent groups, matters such as the following have come up for questioning and discussion:

– Clarification of policies and procedures for board, clothing and medical costs.
– Explanation of the legal status of the minors.
– The cultural pattern in which men play the dominant role. The refusal of a Vietnamese boy to take direction from his foster mother. The reticence of some of the girls. The masculine observation, 'American women talk too much'.
– Foods which are enjoyed. The importance of native foods being available. Differences in table manners, and how to explain the American way.
– Relative values in American and Indochinese friendships - keeping a balance.
– Registering for school - the first weeks at school - the role of the foster parent.
– The loss experienced in severing relationships with peers known in flight and in camp. The importance of these relationships.
– Language difficulties - helpful ways of dealing with them at home. Tutoring services available in schools, agencies and national groups. Information, especially dictionaries available in native languages. The need for technical language (jargon) for high school subjects. For instance, a student may be able to solve an algebraic equation but not understand such terms as 'add', 'substract', 'equals', or 'square root'.
– Helping in the home - ways of overcoming loss of face when young men are asked to do what they consider 'women's work'.
– Difficulties in implementing routines for turning off lights, water and kitchen stoves locking the door, coming to meals, being ready for school.
– The need for reasonable and firm restrictions and for realistic parental reactions, as for 'own' children.
– The importance of assigning family chores.
– The feel that foster parents' acceptance of payments for board indicates that the foster child is not loved or wanted. The opposite feeling, that the minor is paying his own way and subject to restrictions.
– Meeting the wishes and need for clothing. The importance to refugees of their own old clothes.
– Reactions to news from home, and to letters from relatives and friends resettled elsewhere.
– Use of long distance calls to maintain contacts with refugee relatives and friends.
– Guilt feelings for family left behind.
– Hopes and plans for reunion with parents.
– Loneliness, frustration, hopelessness.
– The importance of status and of saving face. The value in showing affection.

- Reactions to American cultural patterns - positive and negative.
- Teasing of peers.
- Confusion about school organization, requirements and discipline.
- Tensions which usually appear after initial adjustments have been made.
- Pride in, or rejection of culture.
- Lack of rapport with some of own countrymen.
- Need for acceptance as persons in their own right.

LSS agencies have been instrumental in encouraging and supporting school and community to share in the care and development of the youth. Such investment by school and community enriches the lives of the refugee minors so that adjustment has come more smoothly. Also, agencies have used their knowledge of resources to connect youth with services and activities which enrich their lives and give them the support they need in establishing themselves.

The LSS agencies have identified qualities needed in foster parents which are not unlike those enunciated by the foster parents themselves. They should be mature people who will work harmoniously together to help the refugee minor. They should be old enough to command parental respect. Experience in rearing other teenagers is helpful. Other adolescents in the home may be helpful in establishing peer relationships in school and community.

Agency staff and foster parents agree that humor, patience and willingness to accept differences are important. Agencies look for parents who can grant the minor considerable freedom of choice. They search especially for parents of good will who can offer affection to young people, both when they conform and when they do not.

Agency staff and parents often explore together the elements of Indochinese cultures, existing conditions in the home countries and possible reasons for flight. Insofar as it is available, foster parents receive information about the foster children. The parents are helped to understand the trauma of refugee homelessness and what it means to be without a workable language. They, in turn, contribute their understanding of the youth to agencies and schools.

Parents are given information about immigration laws, the legal status of refugees and procedures required of an alien. Also, they receive information about the legal custody of the minor. These technicalities are not always understood, and in many instances require greater emphasis than is currently provided. Joint exploration of school programs and practices by foster parents and agency staffs has been valuable. Agencies have the opportunity to stress to the parents the importance of the youth maintaining contacts with their own cultures.

Continuous agency contact with the minors and their foster parents is a necessity for responsible satisfactory placement. In the process of such contacts, agencies are finding it useful to look forward with the parents to the transition period from minority status to adulthood so that the 18-year olds may have the support of family relationships as they become young adults.

The experience of the agencies associated with LIRS is that the majority of foster children and parents weather the buffets of the storms they encounter. In fewer instances, additional different resources and new plans are necessary. In some situations, minors have moved away from their homes on their own initiative and become lost to the homes and agency. Success is not always possible. It is significant that many foster parents and their social service agencies have shown willingness to accept the risks involved.

Temporary orientation homes. The 'boat children' now being resettled differ in some aspects from the earlier arrivals. They have fled more deliberately from their homelands, and many have spent extended waiting periods in refugee camps in Asian countries. Unlike the 1975 minors, they are not being assembled in American holden camps. Rather, they travel immediately from Asia to their final destination in the United States.

Limited social histories, given by the minors themselves, were available for the youth who were processed through American holding camps. Only identifying information is available for those now arriving. This makes selection of appropriate foster homes more difficult. Also, the rapid transition from Asia to the United States becomes more of a cultural shock. Youth arrive with little understanding of what is happening to them or where they are going. On arrival, they lack basic information concerning arrangements made from them and what will be expected of them.

Only one LIRS-related LSS agency is receiving 'boat children' at the time this report is written. If necessary contractual arrangements can be made, others may participate. In the meantime, the one agency is experimenting with the use of a large foster home as a temporary orientation center where the arriving minors are placed for a few days.

In that home, special attention is given by staff to becoming acquainted with the minors and learning something of their interest, expectations, hopes and fears. Also, initial orientation is given to the United States, its school system, the American pattern of foster home care and the function of the sponsoring agency. Explanations are made of immigration status, the sources and extent of the support the minors will receive and the responsibilities they carry. They are helped to clean their clothes and possessions, assigned beds, given freedom of the house and fed their native foods with some introduction to American food. During these days, they have access to an interpreter and other Indochina refugees. They are allowed to do some of their own cooking and encouraged to help with household chores. Medical examinations and treatment, if necessary, are provided for each minor. Each youth receives a verbal description of the foster home available to him.

Play equipment, information and books in the Indochinese languages, maps, visits to a typical school, neighborhood trips and television are available. In the household are three dogs and a cat which enjoy attention and affection. If friends have been resettled nearby, the newcomers are helped to make contact with them.

At the conclusion of a few days in the temporary foster home, the minors have become acquainted with a small group of concerned Americans and Indochinese, and gained some perspective on the future. They are then moved into more permanent placements with the assurance that the LSS agency contact will continue to be available.

The resettled youth. The minors assisted by LIRS-related agencies arrived in the United States in 1975 and 1978. Below are presented summary reports on the situation of 112 of these youth as of December 1978.

The first summary is a report from one LSS agency prepared by a Vietnamese social worker on 21 youth who came to the United States in 1975. It is illustrative of the way this agency planned with and for the youth for whom it assumed responsibility.

The second summary covers 91 youth who arrived in the United States in 1975 and 1978 and were resettled by five LSS agencies in five different states. Forty-three of these young people arrived in 1975; 48 are 'boat youth' who arrived during 1978 and were resettled by a single LSS agency.

(i) *Twenty-one youth resettled by one agency*. (To protect privacy, fictitious names have been used.) Dates should be read: month/day/year (ed.).

Ly, female, dob 12/10/58. From 12/10/75 to present time has been in a foster home. She had some difficulties of adjustment during the first year, but is doing fine at present time. She attends high school and has a part-time job. Ly has corrected her age, to two years younger, through official channels. She plans to move some time in 1979 to live with another Vietnamese friend.

Huy, male, dob 1/10/62.

Hai, male, dob 8/19/56 (Huy and Hai are brothers). From 12/20/75 to 8/1/76 they were placed in foster homes. Huy had many difficulties, refused to cooperate, being stubborn about having his own way. Hai's adjustment was smooth. The children have an uncle who also is a refugee. When Huy could not adjust to the foster family, the agency helped them to move to live with the uncle. Huy has been doing fine with his uncle, attending high school. Hai finished high school and has been attending vocational school.

Ly, female, dob 1958. On 12/20/75 was placed with a foster family for two weeks. She had many difficulties to adjust due to her disruptive and negative behavior before she arrived in the US. She was placed in a residential treatment center. When she was no longer eligible for foster home care (in August 1977), she was placed with a Vietnamese family. Her adjustment has improved. She is continuing to study English in a high school. Her English is good enough now to help her to comminucate with people in English.

Son, male dob 1/1/60.

Sang, male, dob 4/1/58. (Son and Sang are brothers). From 12/20/75 to fall 1977, they were placed in a foster family. The older brother, Son, finished high school and vocational school. He had a job after finishing training and bought a mobile home. His brother lived with him for about six months before they moved to California in February 1978. Sang, the younger brother, was attending college when they moved. Reason for moving: loneliness in a small community. They had a good relationship with parents during placement.

Thoa, male, dob 1/10/58.

Thanh, female, dob 2/10/60. (Thoa and Thanh are brother and sister). From 12/20/75 to 2/20/76 they were placed in a foster home. Their adjustment was difficult. Other placements were needed before they reached the age of 18. They were moved to another American family. Two months later Thoa had to be placed in a group gome where he stayed until they day he moved out independently in the summer of 1978. Thanh, the sister, stayed with her second foster home for about six months and then she also had to be placed in a group home until she reached the age of 18 and moved out with her brother. Thoa has a job as machine operator. Thanh is continuing her vocational training while finishing her high school.

Luan, male, dob 12/12/61. From 12/20/75 to June 1978, Luan lived in a foster home. His relationship with the foster home was good. However, he had difficulty to get along with American classmates. In 1978 he attempted to commit suicide and was admitted to the Crisis Unit for Adolescents for three weeks. Reason for this crisis was: the grandmother of his American girl friend did not allow him to visit his girl friend and she called him a pimp. His psychiatrist advised a change in the living environment. Luan moved to live with three other Vietnamese friends. He has completed high school and will start college in January 1979. He has been working at two jobs - one full-time and one part-time - to save money while waiting for his college study.

Ly, female, dob 9/14/61. Ly was placed in a foster home on 12/20/75. Her adjustment has been fine. She is enrolled in 11th grade of school.
Son, male, dob 7/11/61. Son was placed in a foster home on 12/20/65. His adjustment has been smooth. He is currently in the 12th grade of school.
Hai, male, dob 12/11/58. Hai was placed in a foster home from 12/20/75 to summer 1978. His adjustment was smooth. He finished high school and is studying in a college program for computer science. He moved to live with a Vietnamese friend who is also attending college.
Thoa, male, dob 3/1/59. Thoa was placed in a foster home from 12/20/75 to November 1976 when he became 17 years and 9 months old, according to his paper (his real age is 3 years older). He was enrolled in a high school during his placement. He made no progress in school, and finally he asked the agency to help him to move and search for a job. We helped him find a job as machine-operator and move to live with 3 Vietnamese workmates. He kept the job for 5 months then worked as a bus boy in a restaurant. He learned to drive and got a driver's license. In the summer of 1977, he resumed his job as machine operator and has kept it until present time. He earns about $ 800 a month. He is driving his own new car.
Dai, male, dob 3/8/60. He was placed in a foster home on 12/20/75. He had some difficulties in adjustment during the first 5 months, being stubborn and rebellious. Steady progress was observed afterwards. He is graduating high school and is planning to attend college.
Tien, male, dob 12/12/59.
Thu, female, dob 6/17/57. (Tien and Thu are brother and sister). They were placed in a foster home from December 1975 to June 1976. The children are bright and intelligent. The parents are young. At the beginning, the relationship was friendly and pleasant but after a short while it was realized that it was difficult for the foster parents to provide the children with necessary parental figures and authority, being not much older than the children. The children have an aunt, a refugee. LSS agency helped them to move to live with this aunt in June 1976.
Duc, male, dob 6/24/64.
Dai, male, dob 4/13/66.
Sa, female, dob 2/12/68. (Duc, Dai and Sa are brothers and sister). In 1975, they were sponsored with their 20-year old uncle and placed in a foster home. Their adjustment has been smooth. They have been on a farm since their arrival, and have forgotten how to speak Vietnamese. Their English is very good.
Thu, female, dob 6/30/63.
Rao, male, dob 4/2/65. (Thu and Rao are brother and sister). In 1975, they were placed in a foster home with their older brother, who was 20-years old. Thu had many difficulties to adjust: rebellious to family rules and disciplines, staying out all night, smoking grass and stealing from stores. Rao, the younger brother, adjusted well. Their brother, Phuc, took them to Texas the spring of 1978.

(ii) *Ninety-one youth resettled in five states.*
Sixty-seven of the 91 youth are minors for whom the agencies have continuing responsibility. Twenty-four are 18 years of age, or older, and as such carry adult responsibility for their own planning and behavior.

(a) Data on the 67 youth who are minors show that in 1978:
55 were living in foster homes and attending school. Forty-one of these are 'boat youth' who were resettled in 1978. Fourteen have been in foster homes since 1975. In

general, all the 55 are making good adjustments to their homes and schools. Agency staff are in frequent communication with them and their foster parents.

4 were living with refugee relatives and attending school. These relatives are uncles, aunts and older siblings who have established themselves and have opened their homes to the minors. The agency maintains contacts with the minors.

3 had been reunited with their parents. They are young children brought to the United States by friends or relatives in the hope their parents could follow. They received foster home care until reunion with their parents.

2 were living semi-independently under plans made in cooperation with their agencies. They did not adjust to their foster homes and at their request the agencies assisted them in moving into more autonomous living situations. One youth is working; one is working and attending school partime.

1 was a resident in a youth treatment center. He had difficulty conforming to home or school rules and procedures, and displayed a violent temper. He is now with a group of six boys who are under the care of psychiatrists, social workers and teachers. It is probable that this boy is more than 18 years of age, though he maintains he is not. He is making progress in the treatment center.

1 was a resident in a mental health institute. His behavior in his foster home became so violent it was necessary to remove him. He is making progress in the institute.

1 was in a foster home in which the parents are seeking legal adoption. This may or may not prove to be wise, since it is not known whether his natural parents are living.

(b) Data on the 24 youth who have reached their majority show that in 1978: 12 living independently and working. Their living arrangements were often with relatives or friends. Five youth were living in states other than the states of their original resettlement. Most of the jobs they are holding require a minimum of voactional skill, which is to be expected among young people just entering the adult world. However, several are becoming skilled mechanics and restaurant waiters.

8 were in foster homes and continuing their high school education. Two of these were completing high school and had anticipations of entering college with the help of their foster parents. One was completing high school and working part-time.

4 were in college, earning their own support. Two of these were maintaining warm relationships with their foster homes. One had left his foster home without notice to his parents or the agency. He has established himself in a distant city where he attends college.

Many of the youth are restless. They like to travel from state to state visiting relatives and friends. Sometimes, the older ones stay permanently; others return to their home states. As with other movements of people, they should eventually find locations and vocations which most nearly meet their needs and their capacities. In the meantime, their agencies follow with interest and concern their progress towards satisfying lives in the United States.

PATTERNS OF RESETTLEMENT OTHER THAN AMERICAN FOSTER HOMES

While LSS agencies have primarily used foster homes, they have used other patterns also. They recognize these can be effective and believe increased attention should be given to their development and use. If a youth has shown himself unable or unwilling to adapt to American life, other possibilities are available for his care. Among them are:

Foster care in Indochinese families. The LSS agencies have not yet established a significant experience factor regarding the effectiveness of foster care in the homes of Indochinese families. In 1975, when most of the placements were made, there were few, if any, Indochinese families who were sufficiently well-established to have the time, security and perspective to undertake the nurture of foster children.

It is interesting to note that the minors themselves and Indochinese adults have questioned whether Indochinese homes should be used. They suggest that life in the Indochinese family may not be well-oriented to American culture, that Americanization may proceed more slowly, that the foster home concept is strange to Indochinese families and that the families would have limited skill in using American resources for the care and development of the minor. Some LSS agency staff concur in this assessment. Others think the homes may be particularly useful for youth who feel isolated from anything they know or can understand. Additional study and experience are needed to determine whether Indochinese homes should be used, and under what circumstances.

Placement in small group homes. This method of resettlement may be particularly appropriate for youth who will soon be 18, or those who because of their past experiences resist American family life. Group homes already in use for American youth are available in many communities. Or, homes can be established for the special purpose of sheltering refugee youth. In some instances, agencies have used established "half-way" houses and youth centers which give care and treatment to adolescents having emotional difficulties. The agencies have found this group living to be effective for some nonconforming adolescents.

Further exploration should be made of establishing special group homes for the refugee youth. In such an event, adequate American and Indochinese staff should be available, and close contact maintained with the servicing agency. The home should be responsible to the agency. Two different types of homes might be considered if the need is evident: (1) small group homes for normal adolescents and (2) small group homes for troubled adolescents. Or, it might be possible to care for both groups in the same home.

Supervised independent living arrangements for older youth. Arrangements in which youth are comparatively free to manage their own affairs, but still remain under the general care and supervision of the agency can meet the needs of some of the older, more mature youth. This pattern has been used when youth have outgrown foster home relationships. Also, when older siblings are located, the youth can be established in independent living arrangements with these siblings.

YMCA residences, boardings homes, rooms and apartments shared by small groups are in popular use by some youth who are over 18 years of age. Their experiences can be used to plan in similar ways for some of the 16-18 year olds, and to offer transition support for those who have reached adulthood.

SOME SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Aspects of the Indochinese cultural heritage. Information available from personal contacts, government reports, agency experience, self-interpretation by refugees, and the behavior of unaccompanied minors indicate that the majority of the Indochinese young people have lived in extended family groups from whom they have drawn feelings of

acceptance and togetherness, and a pattern of family interdependence. At the time of resettlement, these feelings may or may not be transferred to the placement agency and foster parents who become an 'in l[illegible]' extended family. The focus of responsibility and security for the Indochinese is [illegible]he family rather than on the individual. This family-oriented outlook on life is supported by Indochinese patterns of courtesy, friendliness, gentleness, humor and face-saving behavior. Cultural responses to interaction with others tend to be pleasing (though not necessarily frank) and the expectation exists that friendship and family relationships involve sharing what one has.

Cultural patterns of the dominance of males and elders, and of the codes of polite behavior affect resettlement adjustment as to the patterns of personal relationships. Most of the Indochinese refugees are Buddhist, Confucian, or Catholic, or a combination of these. Belief in the spirits of the dead and unseen forces may figure in their religious practices and life style. Pastoral and congregational relationships as known in the United States are seldom familiar to the refugee minor.

Agency experience indicates that social status may figure significantly in the relationships of Indochinese refugees with each other. Youth may be eager to establish contacts with their countrymen, yet withdraw from the opportunities available to them. They are uncomfortable with those they consider to be of higher or lower status than themselves. The status level is often determined by speech, and by the geopraphic location and vocation of the parent. This cultural pattern becomes important as the agency and foster parents encourage youth to find compatriots with whom to share their past and their future.

A Vietnamese cultural practice, of significance in resettlement, is that of using minors as unpaid family servants. Agency experience to date suggests that it is not unusual for Vietnamese families to have within their membership non-relative young people who serve in this capacity. In Vietnam, they lived with the families in the role of domestics. At the time of flight, they accompanied and assisted the families. Upon arrival in the United States, they were admitted as family members. However, their family status continued to be that of unpaid servants. When the existence of these young domestics has become known to American authorities, their status has been changed from that of family member to that of unattached minor. As unattached minors, they receive the same maintenance and protective services as the unaccompanied minors.

Unaccompanied minors, and those who have become unattached in the resettlement process, are high risk groups whose rapid life changes make adjustment precarious and uncertain. A stabilized, comfortable outlook may at times seem well-nigh impossible of achievement. If in the resettlement process the youth can find security, a sense of belonging, and beginning language competence, these may form a foundation for positive movement towards the future.

LIRS has prepared a number of orientation brochures for its sponsors, refugees, regional consultants and agency staff. Among them are: 'Face to Face - The Ministry of Refugee Resettlement', 'An Introduction to the History and Culture of Vietnam', 'Cambodia - The Land and Its People', 'Laos - The Land and The People', 'An Introduction to Various Ethnic Groups from Laos', 'Welcome - Brochures to Refugees', 'Learning English: An Introductory Guide for Sponsors of Indochinese Refugees', etc.

Language. It is a truism that communication is essential for effective resettlement in a foreign land. LSS agencies, foster homes and schools are investing time, ingenuity and patience in assisting the minors in learning English. Constant exposure to the spoken word eventually tune ears to the language sounds. On the other hand, this is the hard,

slow way. Much can be done to hasten the process of learning to speak English.

Indochinese members of LSS agency staffs welcome and orient the newcomers. Thereafter, they are available to assist the refugee youth, his foster parents and others who are sharing in his adjustment. Foster parents and children tell humorously of their use of signs and body language for communication. They speak of well-used dictionaries and simple reading material which is made available. A telephone call is a common source of help. An Indochinese with some competence in English can interpret by telephone in turn to parent and child. Or, an LSS agency staff member can explain things in a telephone conversation. In some instances, foster children are tutored regularly by their foster parents.

School is bewildering for those who cannot understand the language. Government subsidies have been available to employ teachers of ESL (English as a Second Language). Sometimes, tutors are provided in the schools. There are teachers who are ready to give special help. Special reading classes designed for slow readers are used frequently. In some instances, minors have been released from one school for part of each day to receive tutoring in another school or in a community center. In schools with large enrollments of Indochinese refugees, special books, tapes and records are provided. School counselors have been especially helpful in coordinating school programs and services in line with the needs of individual youth. On occasion foster parents and LSS agencies have arranged for the youth to attend small private schools in which they can receive individual attention.

Other courses of assistance are found in the language programs of community agencies, nationality organizations and resettlement agencies. Government funds are available for some of these programs.

Foster parents are generous in assisting the young people. Some have set up regular periods for language tutoring. Parents and minors discribe determined joint efforts to have the youth master the language, and their pleasure when communication has been established. Consistent language assistance over considerable periods of time is helping many youth find their places in home, school and community.

On the other hand, in some instances minors have received minimum support as they struggled to speak, read and write the English language. In such instances, the failure to provide sufficient opportunity is usually due to pressure of other responsibilities. Helping an Indochinese youth may require more time and patience than home or school is willing to make available. For some minors, inadequate placement procedures have resulted in instruction inappropriate to their needs. The seriousness of such lapses may not be recognized for some time by other than the boy or girl who finds himself shut off from normal communication.

Education. Successful school experience involves introduction of the school and student, appropriate placement, special assistance with school requirements and mores, language study, tutoring, career counseling and opportunities for Americans and Indochinese to share activities.

The experience of the youth in American schools has been encouraging. In most instances, they have been welcomed and are receiving special consideration in course selection, English instruction and the development of reading skills. Yet until they master the language it is discouraging for the minors that they are unable to understand class discussion in such subjects as literature and social studies. Comparatively, mathematics and science are easier to understand. School counselors and friendly teachers and coaches have helped in orientation and adjustment processes.

Sometimes a tutor has been available. Often other Indochinese students or class leaders have accompanied the newcomers to assigned class rooms and to lunch and have oriented them to buildings, playground and transportation.

When the youth have excelled in a school subject or activity, this succes has afforded feelings of self worth. When everything has seemed confused and unintelligible, the process has been painful. To her embarrassment, one shy young girl struggling to understand a discussion of American history found herself dozing towards the end of the class period. Foster parents have taken special care to encourage and sustain frustrated students during their first weeks of school.

Schools and parents report that the youth try hard, and in time most of them can grasp their course content. Youth and parents say the youth study long hours at home, making frequent use of bilingual dictionaries.

Sometimes at school, newcomers will be teased and ridiculed. Such experiences are borne with considerable dignity in most instances. Foster parents' support at home helps them to face this not unusual phenomenon.

In selecting foster homes, agencies give special attention to the availability of appropriate schools. Sometimes the parents will choose a private school which is small and can offer more individual attention than larger public schools. The majority of youth, however, enroll in public schools. Agency staff and foster parents become acquainted with the schools, often together, and plan with the schools for enrollment of minors. They are then in a position to interpret needs and to continue contact with the schools as occasion demands.

Some youth arrive in the United States without realizing they will have opportunity for full-time education. The availability of a school experience then comes as a special privilege. Since 1975, a number of minors have completed high school and some of these have enrolled in college or university. They have learned how to take advantage of scholarships, support plans and part-time work to finance their college level study. Other youth choose to pursue vocational rather than academic education. They are helped by school counselors, parents, agency staff and experienced friends to know what is available to them. Still others leave school for full-time employment; these are in the minority.

During the school year and summer vacations, both boys and girls are finding and pursuing part or full-time work. They may work as helpers in restaurants, filling stations and stores, deliver papers or do simple manual jobs. At the beginning, they earn the minimum wage. When they are available to work full-time, if their English is reasonably good and they have had some experience, they may qualify for more than the minimum wage.

Religion. The majority of youth assisted have come from Buddhist or Catholic families. A few are Protestants. Vietnamese adults who have been consulted say the Buddhist way of life is recognized as desirable even though the youths' previous participation in Buddhist functions may have been minimal.

A question arises as to the religious responsibility of a Protestant resettlement program to refugee youth who are resettling in a nation which is primarily oriented towards the Christian faith. The general principle has been followed that there should be no effort to proselytize. For the Catholics, there is little problem. Catholic parishes are available to receive them. For the Buddhists, no nearby pagoda may be available in which English or an Indochinese language is spoken, though as the number of refugees increases, Indochinese pagodas are being established.

Parents and youth have responded in a variety of ways to the question of religious affiliation. Often youth have expressed a minimum of interest in establishing contact with their traditional religion. They have been content to accompany their foster parents to religious services, or to keep apart from any conventional observances. Except for participation in holy day observances, the Buddhist youth may have had little contact with observances of their faith. Occasionally, parents have sought to establish such contacts. Or, when youth have expressed interest in closer affiliation, their wishes have been respected and encouraged.

Agency staff recognize the values in the participation of youth in their traditional religious functions. Religion can be a sustaining force as they re-establish their identity. No one pattern is being followed, but there is increasing awareness of the dual influences of the religions and cultures of the home countries and of the country of resettlement. A question has been raised whether a desirable policy might be to make easily available to the youth the opportunity for contacts with both religions, those of the natural and foster parents. The youth can then make personal choices which meet their needs in the resettlement period of their lives.

From time to time, local and national media present information concerning the religion and culture of the refugees and report on local programs and festivities. These have been helpful to the youth, their foster parents and the interested public. Also, community and school libraries are providing some religious and cultural literature appropriate to youth. As the quality and variety of such programs increase, the dignity and beauty of Indochinese religions and cultures can become an increasing source of pride to refugee youth in a new land.

Legal matters affecting status and welfare

(a) *Immigration requirements.* In the current programs, unaccompanied Indochina refugee minors are admitted to the United States as parolees or conditional entrants. Their status may be adjusted to permament residence after two years of residence. The minors and those responsible for them often lack understanding of the minors' temporary immigration status, the procedures necessary to establish permanent residence and the legal requirements for aliens under the immigration law, such as the annual alien registration each January and the importance of not misplacing the immigration identification form (Arrival-Departure Record I-94 or the Alien Registration Card).

These are technical matters, easily misunderstood or overlooked or forgotten. The minors may not be aware of their importance. Conversations with minors and their foster parents highlight the need for greater understanding. Suggestions were made that thorough instruction in non-technical language be provided to the minors, their foster parents, and, if possible, school personnel. This might be done individually or in small groups. Such instruction would be supplemented by LIRS and government pamphlets.

(b) *Support (care and maintenance costs).* Presently unaccompanied minors are supported by federal funds available for reimbursement to the states under the Indochina Refugee Assistance Act. This federal 100 per cent reimbursement to the states may or may not be renewed from year to year. Should it not be renewed, the states would carry part of the support responsibility. States with large populations of refugee minors could find this difficult. Also, lack of assured support places governmental and voluntary child care agencies in uncertain positions for planning. The uncertainty can also

contribute to the insecurity of the minors.

The question of possible assured federal support to the states for the period of the refugee's minority is under consideration by federal officials. Since the minors enter the United States under federal programs designed to meet national responsibilities, a provision for their 100 per cent federal support until they reach their majority may become possible. If so, some of the nagging questions of agency planning would be solved.

(c) *Legal protective services.* Laws which define responsibility for dependent minors are enacted by the states, not the federal government. Responsibility for the minors, such as custody or guardianship, is determined within the state of first residence. These laws vary from state to state. They set forth who shall be responsible in the event of illness or disaster, who shall make decisions on place of residence, who represents the minor in legal proceedings and who carries responsibility for support.

(d) *Other legal provisions.* In addition to those to which attention has been called, there are other American legal provisions of which the refugee minor needs to learn as preparation for adult living. Again, from time to time interpretative information has been given, but no consistent program of orientation for the minor has emerged. Among the provisions of which they should be aware are those relating to legal age for working, minimum wage requirements, social security programs, unemployment insurance, medicaid, membership in labor unions and income tax requirements. Also, as he reaches the age of emanciaption, the minor needs to know to whom to turn for legal protection and counsel. The foster parent of the LSS agency may be nearby to offer help, or the minor may have lost contact with both and be without reliable counsel. Also of importance is for the emancipated minor to be aware of the availability of the national resettlement agency for referral or assistance.

Community resources. LSS agency experience is showing the importance of placing youth in homes which are within reach of resources important to their welfare. Often this means placement in an urban area, or within relatively frequent and inexpensive access to an urban area.

Among the resources which have been found to have special values for refugees are:

– Schools of recognized excellence in which counselling staff are available. Schools having diverse curricula including special provisions for non-English speaking students and a variety of extra-curricular activities have offered refugee students support and challenge suited to their capacities and needs.

– Mental health facilities, particularly those with Indochinese staff or staff experienced in treating adolescents of non-American cultures. Among facilities which have been used successfully are youth counselling services, child guidance clinics, hospital crisis units for adolscents and psychiatric consultation services. When youth have needed special direction apart from their foster homes, youth treatment centers have been used successfully.

– Medical and dental clinics which are available to youth who qualify for public care.

– Vocational training facilities and youth employment services suited to youth who have limited language skills.

– Community sports, crafts and recreational programs.

– Access to peers and families of their nationality through formal and informal nationality organizations. Such contacts can be helpful in giving continuity to the lives of

young people separated from their families.

– Access to the placement agency having responsibility for the selection of the foster home and for consultation with the foster parents. In periods of difficulty, youth have sought contacts with agencies by telephone and in person. The availability of this supporting service has strengthened them in their adjustment processes.

REUNION WITH PARENTS OR OTHER RELATIVES

While there is little possibility that the refugee youth will return to their homelands and be reunited with their families, the possibility does exist that parents or other close relatives will be able to come to the United States, or to another country. LIRS is committed to family reunion when this is possible, and stands ready to assist in its achievement.

The parents of several of the unaccompanied youth have already arrived in the United States. At the time of writing this report, the parents of three young brothers now in the United States are known to be among the 'boat people' hoping to reach this country. The numbers who come may increase as parents learn where their children are living and of the possibilities of reunion.

It seems possible that family reunion whatever its values will require periods of adjustment by the youth and their families. The youth may have absorbed American patterns of life which are strange to the parents. In the instance of young children, they may have lost facility in speaking their mother tongue. Or, it is possible that the expectations of the youth and their parents are greater than the reality. In instances of these kind, agencies will need to be aware of the possibilities and to give the youth and their families support as they readjust to life together.

Older siblings, uncles, aunts and cousins have also entered the United States as refugees and may be in touch with the youth. When relatives have been located, agencies are planning with the youth for the contacts they desire which are appropriate. It is not unusual for an older sibling who is employed to establish a home for younger brothers or sisters.

As agencies gain experience with family reunions, they can contribute needed technical skill and emotional support to help youth and their relatives re-establish themselves as family units.

CONCLUSIONS

In recapitulation, the experience herein reported relates to Indochinese adolescent refugees who entered the United States without their parents. The following conclusions are drawn from the experience of the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service and its Lutheran Child welfare agencies. These conclusions are directly applicable to the American situation. However, in principle application may be made to the situation of any nation which is resettling unaccompanied minor refugees.

The findings suggest:

(a) Revision and codification of immigration, support and custody laws are needed to increase the effectiveness of the United States refugee programs. Refugee immigration policies and laws need to be defined in terms of long-range resettlement goals.

Custody or guardianship should be held by a public or private voluntary agency rather than foster parents. The agencies have ongoing programs which are not subject to the changes and stresses of individual foster homes.

Official statements on legal matters written in non-technical, bilingual language should be made available by federal and state governments to all persons concerned with resettlement, especially the refugee minors themselves. As legal provisions and procedures are clarified, these too should be distributed.

(b) Full federal support should be assured for the maintenance, health care and education of unaccompanied refugee minors. This care should be available for the duration of their minority and for several months into a transition period.

Federal financing should be provided for support services for refugee minors from the time of their reception until they have made the transition from minority to adult status. This support should be maintained at a level to make possible consistent professional staff services in home finding, orientation and continuous counselling for refugee youth, their foster parents and related supporting service staff. The minors are admitted as an expression of national concern and should receive support from federal sources.

(c) Wholehearted, informed support of the youth resettlement program by constituencies, board and administrative staff is essential for long-range planning and service. Without such support, recruitment of foster homes, use of community resources and the financing and staffing of programs can be precarious and ineffective. A primary contribution of the voluntary agency may be the understanding and support it creates within its constituency.

(d) Within the LIRS-assisted programs, there is evidence of interest in continued and extended youth resettlement. Agencies of special competence should be invited to carry the program forward. Each agency should estimate the number of minors it wishes to receive and then contract with the state or local authorities for support and services. Agencies selected should have special competence in serving adolescent youth. American and Indochinese professional staff should be used. Also, skilled interpreters will be necessary. The role of the LSS agency vis-a-vis local child welfare authorities and LIRS and vice versa should be clearly defined. Periodical reports to LIRS regarding the situation of the minor and a continuing flow of relevant information to the LSS child welfare staff should be part of the arrangement.

(e) The present pattern of placement of refugee youth in American foster homes should continue. Experience shows that the use of American foster homes has been successful in the majority of resettlement situations. It also suggests that additional foster homes can be recruited and oriented to the special responsibilities of serving refugee youth.

Foster homes should be selected for their capability to give affection, emotional support and guidance to youth from other cultures. The range of needed orientation and consultation service has been described in some detail. Regular individual consultations with parents and minors, group meetings with parents, and gatherings of youth, foster parents and agency staff should be built into the programs.

Special attention should continue to be given to helping refugee youth to acquire command of the English language and to make use of educational opportunities. Contacts with their countrymen and with their religious and cultural heritage should be facilitated for youth. Special and continuous effort should be made to help them understand their immigration and legal status and to have basic knowledge of American Social Security, employment and welfare programs.

(f) LIRS-related agencies should be encouraged to experiment with and develop patterns of resettlement other than American foster homes. These additional patterns could be used as supplements to foster home experiences. Or, they could be used as resources for youth who give indication they cannot accept life in American foster homes.

Among possible patterns which have been mentioned are Indochinese foster homes, group homes and independent living arrangements. The youth involved should have full access to agency support systems in educational, vocational, recreational, mental health and health services. Refugee child care programs should be coordinated with all aspects of the agency's resettlement program.

(g) Every effort should be made to secure reliable information about the minors to be resettled while they are still in the camps in Asia. This will enable advance planning for their welfare. Competent bilingual staff who are oriented to social service needs should be used to gather the information.

(h) Under the present circumstances in which refugee youth come directly from Asia, special foster homes for the temporary reception and orientation of small groups of youth should be developed by the receiving agencies. Some of the functions of such centers have been described earlier. Developments of these centers by the agencies receiving the youth may be an important next step in building the resettlement program.

(i) The structure and way of work of the national agency and its local affiliates should be understood and supported by government authorities on federal and state and local levels. Agencies within the LIRS structure should be kept informed concerning national developments and encouraged to coordinate their efforts with those of other agencies. Agency representatives should have the responsibility to confer with state and country governmental and voluntary agencies concerning their programs and needs. Opportunity should be assured for regular exchange of experiences within the LIRS group of agencies both among the social work and the administrative staffs. Coordination of their efforts should be facilitated.

(j) The LIRS program for unaccompanied Indochinese minors has had positive results. Youth are responding to patient, friendly, intelligent nurturing. With few exceptions, they show progress in school and satisfactory adaptation to their living conditions. Many have already moved into wholesome independent living situations.

Because of these positive aspects of the program, few complaints are received from agency constituencies concerning the agencies' involvement in resettlement. As a group, the minors offer promise of becoming stable, self-supporting and responsible residents of the United States. No experiences have occurred which suggest the refugee program is counter to, or in any way detrimental to, the American way of live.

For so long as need exists, the program for the resettlement of unaccompanied Indochinese minors should go forward. The welfare and protection of the minors should be of paramount importance.

APPENDIX

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING UNACCOMPANIED MINORS (September 30, 1977)

1. The undersigned ad hoc committee was asked by the Children's Committee of ACVA to prepare recommendations regarding the resettlement of unaccompanied minors who are among the Indochinese refugee population in Southeast Asia. It is our understanding that while many of the facts concerning this group are not clear, the majority of the youths involved are in camps in Thailand, that they are adolescent males and to a large extent from Laos. For the purpose of this memorandum we are focusing our comments on individuals under 18 years of age, since in the U.S. and many other countries, the trend is to consider 18 as the age at which an individual attains majority.

2. This is not the first time in recent history that unaccompanied minors have appeared among refugee populations and the recommendations set forth below are based on knowledge gained espe-

cially from Post World War II experiences with various refugee groups (eg: Hungarians, Cubans). Even more recently, there has been experience in resettling unaccompanied minors among the Indochinese refugees who came directly to the U.S. in 1975.

3. The overriding principles in any sound planning for minors dictate that there be an opportunity for an individualized assessment of each young persons's situation prior to the formulation of any plan for resettlement and that planning for the future be based on a variety of alternatives.

4. These assessments should first and foremost consider the possibility of preserving existing familial or personal ties which the unaccompanied minor may already have to other refugees - whether such refugees are still in Southeast Asia, in the process of movement to or already resettled in another country. This alternative would require that the families or persons with whom the minor is to be resettled be involved in the planning process, with due consideration given to the practical realities of their assuming the social and legal responsibilities involved.

5. For those minors who are truly without ties, the most appropriate alternative would most likely be some form of foster care. The experience of child welfare agencies in the U.S. suggests that in developing foster care plans for minors, a variety of choices should be considered, including:

- Placement, where possible, with families of similar cultural background to the minor involved.
- Placement, with families not of the same cultural background who have special sensitivity to cultural differences and the ability to respond to the needs of uprooted young people.
- Some form of group placement. Group placements have proved effective in the U.S. in planning for older adolescents, especially those who may have difficulties in adjusting to a family foster home.

6. To implement the principles and recommendations outlined above, the committee recommends that a competent professional team carry out in depth assessments of the unaccompanied minor refugee population where they are presently located. Possibly the UNHCR, which has the responsibility for providing care and legal protection for all refugees, could contract with a voluntary agency to carry out this assessment and to continue appropriate planning. It is assumed that some youths will have close ties with families or persons in countries other than the U.S. and that placement in such countries will need to be explored.

7. For those minors for whom movement to the United States proves to be the best alternative, the team would need to work with the U.S. authorities to facilitate movement to the U.S. with entry being achieved either through refugee or immigrant status. We would recommend that those resettlement agencies with competence in child welfare programs be asked to participate in placement planning. The objectives should be to move those refugee youths who come to the U.S. into the existing child welfare system so that they can become eligible for the same services and protection that are available to all children and youth in their place of residence. In all instances, proper attention would need to be given to the question of legal custody - the arrangements for which vary from one state to another - and to follow-up service by an appropriate social agency.

8. It is this committee's understanding that there has been some discussion about the possibility of arranging for adoptive placement of unaccompanied minor refugees presently in Southeast Asia. Considering the ages of the minors involved, and the problems inherent in adoptive placement of older youths, the difficulties that would exist in meeting the legal and documentary requirements for adoptive planning and the questionable severing of legal ties to parents or other relatives in their countries of origin, we anticipate that adoption planning would be appropriate only in rare and isolated situations.

9. In conclusion, we want to strongly urge that for unaccompanied minors in refugee camps who have close ties to families who are eligible to come to the U.S. under the new parole program, every consideration be given to the possibility of the minors involved accompanying those families at the time of their migration.

Sidney Talisman, ACNS, Chairman (American Council of Nationalities Service)
Danica Adjemovitch, ACVA (American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service)
Rosalind Harris, ISS (International Social Service)
Nancy Long, LIRS (Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service)
Dao Spencer, ACVA

Conclusions - Recommendations

ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS
AND MAINTENANCE OF THEIR LINKS WITH THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Consultative Participation and the Role of Immigrants' Associations in Relation to the Country of Origin (Interrelationship with the Country of Employment)

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Seminar viewed consultative participation of migrants as a means both to preserve their culture and identity and to facilitate their integration in the society of the country of employment, particularly as it creates channels of communication and dialogue between the authorities concerned and the migrants, and between the native and migrant communities of the host country.

2. It was stressed that, in many European countries, consultative participation in relation to the country of origin may also affect migrant participation in the society of the host country. These two aspects are interdependent, in the same way as there are mutual implications between the process tending towards preservation of the culture of the migrant's country of origin and the process aimed at integrating the migrant in the society of the host country. Account should be taken, however, of the features of participation procedures that are peculiar to the countries concerned.

3. The opinion was expressed that consultative participation by the migrants through their associations and federations could have very positive results, which would be of advantage both to the migrants themselves, the authorities concerned and the community at large. Some of the advantages of this type of participation were found to be as follows:

- the migrants' sense of responsibility is enhanced by their sharing in the decisions which affect them;
- problems that are identified after extensive consultation tend to be more specific and the solutions that are arrived are more pragmatic;
- a permanent dialogue is established between the migrant communities and the authorities concerned.

4. It should be stressed that migrant associations are not alone in being active within migrant communities and that it is therefore in their interest to seek the support of other institutions (e.g. churches, trade unions, voluntary agencies and the like) in their efforts to preserve the migrants' culture of origin and facilitate their integration in the host country. In so doing, however, they should make sure to avoid any duplication of efforts.

5. Migrant associations should refrain from engaging in any activities foreign to the above-mentioned objectives.

6. Particular attention was devoted to the various experiments in consultative participation currently being carried out both in Europe (intra-European migration) and overseas. The need for further consideration by the governments and institutions con-

165

cerned of the subject of migrant consultative participation was stressed, and the need to supply native communities in the host countries with information on those questions was emphasized.

7. Some host countries have established a consultative structure made up of groups operating at different levels and dealing with the problems raised by the existence of several ethnic communities. An example of this type of diversified organization is that established in Australia on five levels:

(i) National consultative groups of a general nature.

(ii) Consultative groups of a specific nature.

(iii) Ad hoc consultative groups of temporary duration.

(iv) Institutions operating in special fields, such as the Special Broadcasting Service and the National Accreditation Authority Translators and Interpreters.

(v) Executive committees which carry out the policies of the Ministry responsible for this sector of activity.

8. It was stated that refugees, despite their special situation in relation to that of migrants, are also interested in preserving their own cultural identity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Seminar made the following recommendations on this sub-topic:

1. There should be no impediment in law or in practice to the association of migrants nor should there be any restriction to the establishment of federations or any other form of grouping of immigrant associations, at both local and national levels, capable of facilitating their representation vis-à-vis the country of origin and the host country.

2. International organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, and voluntary agencies should endeavour to render governments, the social partners and public opinion in general, more fully alive to the need for establishing forms of migrant consultative participation of interest to both the individuals and the communities concerned.

3. The countries concerned should consider the possibility of setting up, at the appropriate levels, consultative participation bodies, as part of their national policies.

4. These bodies should respect the autonomy of migrant representation and give themselves rules of operation which should be flexible and dynamic, while taking into account the features of participation procedures that are peculiar to the countries of origin and to the host country.

5. Regional and decentralized forms of migrant participation should be promoted that could enable them to maintain links with their region of origin and be present in the local socio-cultural fabric, to which in general they remain most closely attached.

6. Any policy of participation should entail considerable cooperation between the countries of emigration and reception concerned, by associating to it, as much as possible, the employers' and workers' organizations of the countries concerned and any other agency active in the field.

Preservation of the Immigrant's Culture, the Sharing of cultural Values and related Questions

CONCLUSIONS

1. The traditional immigration countries such as Australia and Canada have in recent years seen a change from the original concept of the migrant being assimilated into his host society. While it had previously been expected that migrants would be easily absorbed into the culture of the new homeland, it became apparent that, on the contrary, many retained much of their own cultural identity. As a consequence, in recent years those governments had moved towards the concept of a multicultural society. This required new approaches and mechanics, not only vis-à-vis the ethnic communities themselves, but also vis-à-vis the host community. Measures to this effect included the establishment of multicultural councils to promote cultural activities, migrant project funding schemes, the establishment of migrant resource centres for the development of self-help activities within ethnic communities, the promotion of ethnic arts which in turn makes the host community aware of the rich background of most ethnic groups, as well as multicultural education and the preservation of ethnic languages.

2. While on the one hand it was recognized that the distinction in practice between the so-called 'temporary' migration in Europe, and the 'permanent' migration to overseas countries was growing less sharp, it was clear from the discussions that the policies differed from country to country. For example, in Belgium no firm policy had been established by the Government, which followed a pragmatic approach. It was left to the migrant to make his choice within the existing economic and social structure of the country. Whereas in Israel priority had initially been given to fast assimilation of the migrants, it was now recognized that the process had been too intense, and although there was a need for a certain time lapse between integration of the migrant and the return to his subculture, it was recognized that the subculture would frequently resurface. The Netherlands' experience had shown that there was a correlation between the migrant's socio-economic position and the ability to realize his own cultural needs. In Switzerland the principle of territoriality, which already applies as much to national migrants (for example to French-speaking Swiss who establish themselves in German speaking Switzerland or vice versa) as to immigrants, plays an important role. It constitutes a considerable obstacle to the creation of a multicultural society. While priority is given to promoting integration, the ethnic culture of the migrants is respected.

3. The Seminar stressed the importance of continuing action by governments and host communities to support the development of the ethnic associations and to give legitimacy to ethnic identity and to maintain ethnic cultures and languages. However, it was generally agreed that the emerging ethnic associations could present governments with certain dilemmas, among which the following were specified:

- To what extent should the roles to be played by the receiving governments and ethnic associations be limited or encouraged.
- There is a potential conflict between the growing importance of the ethnic associations and the existing structural order with regard to the social and economic conditions of the migrants.
- By giving validity and status to the ethnic associations it may be that the individual becomes locked into the group and his economic and social mobility may be reduced.
- In encouraging plurality of institutions, languages and systems, the cohesiveness of society as a whole might be weakened.
- Efforts to establish and give value to the ethnic identity of individuals may diminish the freedom of the individual to choose his own identity.

4. Emphasis was placed on the right of the individual to choose his own identity. It was pointed out that the preservation of immigrant cultures should not detract from the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment.

5. Attention was drawn to the fact that in general the second generation tended to identify more with the host society and the importance of the parents' role in helping to maintain the cultural ties with the country of origin was stressed.

168

The Migrant's Participation in the political Life of the Country of Origin in the Context of his integration

CONCLUSIONS

1. In the previous Seminars on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants ICEM has put forward proposals for the study of possible ways and means of integration in the host country. Consideration should be given to the different situation of immigrants settled in countries which grant a prompt naturalization (and consequently, the full exercise of political rights) and that of those immigrants who encounter difficulties in the exercise of those rights in the host country.
In the latter case it is desirable to find means of maintaining the immigrant's links with his home country, and in particular of his participation in the elections of his country of origin.

2. Despite the support extended by several international organizations to the suggestions for the granting of voting rights to immigrants (at least at the local government level), these have met with considerable reluctance on the part of host countries; it will accordingly be necessary to seek, possibly by exploring new channels, legal remedies to enable immigrants to maintain their links (from a political point of view) with some society; if that of the host country is ruled out, the only remaining one is that of the country of origin.

3. It was felt desirable that the Governments concerned adopt, at the forthcoming Conference of European Ministers responsible for Local Government Bodies to be held in Madrid in 1980 under the auspices of the Council of Europe, positive measures to allow, in appropriate cases, the participation by immigrants in the functioning of the representative system at the local level in the host country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Bilateral agreements should be promoted between the democratic states concerned to allow respective citizens residing abroad, on a basis of reciprocity, to vote for the election of their representatives at the local government level.

2. Government of the countries of emigration should be urged to facilitate participation in political life by their citizens who have migrated abroad granting to them the

right to vote and establishing an adequate system ensuring the proper functioning of this right.

3. The Governments of the host countries should be urged:
(a) In case that voting can take place in the host country: to authorize the smooth functioning of the election on its territory, providing all necessary co-operation to the country of origin;
(b) In case that voting takes place in the country of origin: to take, in agreement with the authorities concerned, all measures necessary to facilitate the return to the country of origin;
(c) In both cases, to give the assurance that adequate information can be provided in order to facilitate responsible exercise of the right of vote.

4. The Seminar has noted that the granting to immigrants of the nationality of the host countries does not always imply loss of the nationality of origin. This can create conflicts of loyalty in respect of the political obligations of these persons towards their country of origin and the host country. The Seminar recommends that the problem of dual nationality and its possible political consequences be studied in depth by the governments concerned.

170

Conclusions - Recommandations

ADAPTATION ET INTEGRATION DES MIGRANTS
ET MAINTIEN DE LEURS LIENS AVEC LE PAYS D'ORIGINE

171

Communication et consultation entre les associations d'immigrants, le pays d'origine et les pays d'accueil

CONCLUSIONS

1. Le Séminaire a envisagé la participation consultative des migrants comme un moyen pour préserver leur culture et leur identité, ainsi que pour faciliter leur intégration dans la société du pays d'accueil, notamment en créant des canaux de communication et de dialogue entre les autorités compétentes et les migrants, ainsi qu'entre les communautés en présence.

2. Il a été souligné que dans beaucoup de pays d'Europe la participation consultative par rapport au pays d'origine peut avoir également des répercussions sur une participation des migrants dans la société du pays d'accueil. Il y a interdépendance entre ces deux aspects, de même qu'il existe des implications mutuelles entre le processus tendant à préserver la culture d'origine des migrants et celui visant à les intégrer dans la société du pays d'accueil. Il faudrait cependant tenir compte des caractéristiques propres des modalités de participation par rapport aux pays intéressés.

3. Il a été considéré que la participation consultative des migrants à travers leurs associations et fédérations, pouvait revêtir un caractère très positif, dont bénéficieraient à la fois les migrants eux-mêmes, les autorités compétentes concernées ainsi que la collectivité. Parmi les avantages de cette forme de participation, on a souligné notamment:
– sens de la responsabilité chez les migrants, de par leur association aux décisions à prendre qui les concernent;
– caractère concret des problèmes identifiés et pragmatisme des solutions trouvées sur la base d'une large consultation;
– institutionalisation d'un dialogue permanent entre les communautés immigrées et les autorités compétentes concernées.

4. Il est à souligner que les associations de migrants ne sont pas les seules à agir par rapport aux communautés de migrants et que, par conséquent, elles ont intérêt à rechercher l'appui d'autres institutions (par exemple, églises, syndicats, associations bénévoles, etc.) dans leurs efforts pour préserver la culture d'origine des migrants, et pour faciliter leur intégration dans le pays d'accueil, en s'attachant à éviter le double emploi avec ces institutions.

5. Ces associations devraient s'abstenir de se livrer à des activités étrangères aux objectifs précités.

6. Une attention particulière a été donnée aux diverses expériences de participation consultative existantes tant dans le contexte des migrations intraeuropéennes que dans celui des pays d'outre-mer. On a souligné le besoin que les gouvernements et les autres institutions intéressées approfonissent la réflexion sur la question de la participation consultative des migrants, et insisté sur le besoin d'informer les communautés autochtones des pays d'accueil sur ces questions.

7. Certains pays d'accueil ont constitué une structure consultative comprenant des groupes à différents niveaux et s'occupant des problèmes créés par la présence de multiples communautés ethniques. Un exemple de ce genre d'organisation diversifiée peut être celui crée en Australie et qui est articulé sur cinq niveaux:

i) groupes consultatifs nationaux de caractère général,
ii) groupes consultatifs de caractère spécifique,
iii) groupes ad hoc de consultation à caractère temporaire,
iv) institutions agissant dans des domaines spéciaux, comme le service spécial de diffusion ('Special Broadcasting Service') et le service de traducteurs et interprètes ('National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters'),
v) comités directeurs qui mettent en pratique les directives du ministre responsable pour ce secteur.

8. Il a été souligné que les réfugiés, malgré le caractère spécifique de leur situation par rapport à celle des migrants, sont aussi intéressés à garder leur identité culturelle d'origine.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Il ne devrait y avoir aucun obstacle, dans la loi comme dans les faits, à la possibilité pour les migrants de s'associer, ni aucune restriction à la possibilité de créer des fédérations, ou toute autre forme de regroupement des associations d'immigrés, tant au niveau local que national, capables de faciliter leur représentation vis-á-vis du pays d'origine et du pays d'accueil.

2. Les organisations internationales, gouvernementales et non gouvernementales, ainsi que les agences bénévoles, devraient s'efforcer de sensibiliser davantage les gouvernements, les partenaires sociaux et l'opinion publique en général, sur le besoin d'instituer des formes de participation consultative des migrants, bénéfiques tant pour les personnes considérées que pour les communautés en présence.

3. Les pays intéressés devraient considérer la possibilité de créer aux niveaux appropriés des organes de participation consultative dans le cadre de leurs politiques migratoires.

4. Ces organes devraient respecter l'autonomie de représentation des migrants et se donner de normes de fonctionnement souples et dynamiques en tenant compte des caractéristiques propres des modalités de participation par rapport au pays d'origine et au pays d'accueil.

5. Il faudrait promouvoir des formes régionales et décentralisées de participation des migrants, capables de maintenir des liens avec leur région d'origine et permettre leur présence dans le tissu socio-culturel local, auquel ils restent en général le plus attachés.

6. Toute politique de participation devrait impliquer une coopération étendue entre les pays d'émigration et les pays d'accueil concernés, en y associant aussi largement que possible les organisations représentatives d'employeurs et de travailleurs des pays intéressés, ainsi que tout organisme actif dans ce domaine.

174

La préservation de la culture de l'immigrant, mise en commun des valeurs culturelles et questions connexes

CONCLUSIONS

1. Les pays d'immigration traditionnels tels que l' Australie et le Canada se sont, ces dernières années, écartés du concept initial de l'assimilation du migrant dans la société du pays d'accueil. Alors qu'on s'était attendu auparavant à ce que les émigrants soient absorbés par la culture de la nouvelle patrie, il est devenu manifeste que, à l'inverse, beaucoup d'entre eux gardaient dans une large mesure leur propre identité culturelle. En conséquence, ces dernières années les gouvernements de ces pays ont évolué pour se rapprocher du concept d'une société multiculturelle. Cette évolution a exigé des approches et méthodes nouvelles vis-à-vis non seulement des communautés ethniques elles-mêmes, mais aussi de la communauté d'accueil. C'est à cette fin qu'on a notamment créé des conseils multiculturels pour promouvoir des activités culturelles, mis en place des systèmes de dotation de fonds à des projets en faveur des migrants, créé des centres de ressources pour migrants, pour le développement d'activités d'auto-assistance au sein des communautés ethniques, favorisé la promotion des arts ethniques qui, par ricochet, ont fait prendre conscience à la communauté d'accueil des richesses culturelles de la plupart des groupes ethniques, développé l'éducation multiculturelle et cherché à préserver les langues ethniques.

2. S'il a été reconnu que, dans la pratique, la distinction entre la migration de main-d'oeuvre dite 'temporaire' en Europe et la migration 'permanente' vers les pays d'outre-mer perdait de sa netteté, le débat a montré clairement que la situation différait d'un pays à l'autre. En Belgique, par exemple, le gouvernement n'a pas eu de politique ferme, mais il a suivi une approche pragmatique. On a laissé le migrant faire son choix dans le cadre de la structure économique et sociale existante. Alors qu'en Israël on avait initialement donné priorité à une rapide assimilation des migrants, il a désormais été reconnu que le processus avait été poussé trop loin et, bien qu'il doive s'écouler un certain temps entre l'intégration du migrant et le retour à sa culture propre, il a été reconnu que la culture propre réapparaîtrait souvent à la surface. L'expérience des Pays-Bas a montré qu'il y avait corrélation entre la situation socio-économique du migrant et son aptitude à satisfaire ses propres besoins cultures. En Suisse, le principe de de territorialité, qui s'applique aussi bien aux migrants nationaux (par exemple aux Romands qui s'établissent en Suisse alémanique ou vice-versa) qu'aux immigrés, joue

175

un rôle important. Il constitue un obstacle notable à l'idée de la création d'une société multiculturelle. S'il est donné priorité à la promotion de l'intégration, la culture ethnique des migrants est respectée.

3. Le Séminaire a souligné l'importance d'une action continue menée par les gouvernements et les communautés des pays d'accueil pour soutenir le développement des associations ethniques, pour reconnaître la légitimité de l'identité ethnique et pour assurer le maintien des cultures et langues ethniques. Toutefois, il a été généralement reconnu que les associations ethniques qui font leur apparition pourraient confronter les gouvernements avec certains dilemmes, au nombre desquels les suivants ont été spécifiés:

- Dans quelle mesure les rôles qui incombent respectivement au gouvernement du pays d'accueil et aux associations ethniques devraient-ils être limités ou élargis?
- Il y a conflit virtuel entre l'importance croissante donnée aux associations ethniques et l'ordre structurel existant en ce qui concerne les conditions économiques et sociales des migrants.
- Reconnaître la validité et le statut des associations ethniques, c'est risquer peut-être d'enfermer l'individu dans le groupe et de réduire la mobilité économique et sociale de l'individu.
- Encourager la pluralité d'institutions, de langues et de systèmes risque de réduire le degré de cohésion de la société tout entière.
- S'efforcer d'établir et de valoriser l'identité ethnique des individus, c'est peut-être réduire la liberté qu'a l'individu de choisir sa propre identité.

4. L'accent a été mis sur le droit qu'a l'individu de choisir sa propre identité. On a fait valoir que le souci de la préservation des cultures des immigrants ne devrait pas faire méconnaître le principe de l'égalité des chances et de l'égalité de traitement.

5. L'attention a été attirée sur le fait qu'en général la seconde génération a tendance à s'identifier davantage avec la société d'accueil et l'on a souligné l'importance du rôle des parents au maintien des liens culturels avec le pays d'origine.

176

Participation des migrants à la vie politique du pays d'origine dans le cadre de leur intégration

CONCLUSIONS

1. Dans les séminaires antérieurs sur l'adaptation et l'intégration des immigrants permanents, le CIME a présenté des propositions pour l'étude de moyens possibles d'intégration dans le pays d'accueil. Il y a lieu de faire une distinction entre la situation des immigrants établis dans des pays qui accordent une prompte naturalisation (et, partant, le plein exercice des droits politiques) et celle des immigrants qui éprouvent des difficultés à exercer ces droits dans le pays d'accueil.
2. Bien que plusieurs organisations internationales aient largement appuyé l'idée d'accorder le droit de vote à l'immigrant (au moins dans les élections municipales ou cantonales), les suggestions faites en ce sens ont été accueillies avec beaucoup de réticence par les pays d'accueil; il faudra donc rechercher, éventuellement par d'autres voies, les moyens légaux de permettre à l'immigrant de maintenir ses liens (sur le plan politique) avec une société; si le pays d'accueil est exclu, la seule qui reste est celle du pays d'origine.
3. Il a été jugé souhaitable que les gouvernements intéressés puissent adopter, à la prochaine conférence des ministres européens responsables des organes d'administration locale qui doit se tenir à Madrid en 1980 sous les auspices du Conseil de l'Europe, des mesures positives pour permettre aux immigrants, dans les cas appropriés, de participer au fonctionnement du système représentatif à l'échelon local dans le pays d'accueil.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. On devrait encourager la conclusion de conventions bilatérales entre les pays démocratiques intéressés pour permettre à leurs citoyens respectifs qui résident à l'étranger, sur une base de réciprocité, de voter dans l'élection de leurs représentants à l'échelon de l'administration locale.
2. Les gouvernements des pays d'émigration devraient être instamment priés de faciliter à ceux de leurs citoyens qui ont émigré la participation à la vie politique en leur accordant le droit de voter et en établissant une procédure adéquate garantissant l'exercice régulier de ce droit.
3. Les gouvernements des pays d'accueil devraient être instamment priés:
a) dans le cas où le vote a lieu dans le pays d'accueil, de permettre le fonctionnement régulier de l'élection sur leur territoire, en fournissant toute la coopération nécessaire au pays d'origine;

177

b) dans le cas où le vote a lieu dans le pays d'origine, de prendre, en accord avec les autorités intéressées, toutes mesures nécessaires pour faciliter le retour au pays d'origine;

c) dans les deux cas, de donner l'assurance que des informations adéquates pourront être fournies afin de faciliter l'exercice conscient du droit de vote.

4. Le Séminaire a noté que l'octroi aux immigrants de la nationalité du pays d'accueil n'implique pas toujours la perte de la nationalité d'origine. Il peut en résulter des conflits de loyalisme à l'égard des obligations politiques des intéressés envers leur pays d'origine et envers le pays d'accueil. Le Séminaire recommande que les gouvernements intéressés procèdent à une étude approfondie du problème de la double nationalité et de ses conséquences politiques éventuelles.

178

Conclusiones - Recomendaciones

ADAPTACIÓN E INTEGRACIÓN DE LOS MIGRANTES
Y MANTENIMIENTO DE SUS VÍNCULOS CON EL PAÍS DE ORIGEN

179

Comunicación y consulta entre las asociaciones de inmigrantes, el país de origen y el país de acogida

CONCLUSIONES

1. El Seminario consideró la participación consultiva de los migrantes como medio de conservar su cultura y su identidad, así como de facilitar su integración en la sociedad del país de acogida, en especial creando canales de comunicación y de diálogo entre las autoridades competentes y los migrantes, así como entre las comunidades interesadas.

2. Se subrayó que, en muchos países de Europa, la participación consultiva en relación con el país de origen puede tener asimismo repercusiones sobre una participación de los migrantes en la sociedad del país de acogida. Hay interdependencia entre esos dos aspectos, al igual que existen relaciones mutuas entre el proceso encaminado a conservar la cultura de origen de los migrantes y el encaminado a integrarlos en la sociedad del país de acogida. Sin embargo, habría que tener en cuenta las características propias de las modalidades de participación en relación con los países interesados.

3. Se consideró que la participación consultiva de los migrantes por medio de sus asociaciones y federaciones puede tener un carácter sumamente positivo, provechoso tanto para los mismos migrantes como para las autoridades competentes interesadas y la colectividad. Entre las ventajas de esta forma de participación, se señalaron especialmente las siguientes:

- el sentido de la responsabilidad entre los migrantes en virtud de su participación en las decisiones que habrán de tomarse y que los conciernen;
- el carácter concreto de los problemas que se han definido y el pragmatismo de las soluciones que se encontraron después de amplias consultas;
- la institucionalización de un diálogo permanente entre las comunidades inmigradas y las autoridades competentes interesadas.

4. Es de subrayarse el hecho de que las asociaciones de migrantes no son las únicas que actúan en relación con las comunidades de migrantes y que, por consiguiente, tiénen interés en conseguir el apoyo de otras instituciones (por ejemplo, iglesias, sindicatos, asociaciones voluntarias, etc.) en sus esfuerzos para conservar la cultura de origen de los migrantes y facilitar su integración en el país de acogida, velando por evitar la duplicación de esfuerzos con esas entidades.

5. Esas asociaciones deberían abstenerse de llevar a la práctica actividades extrañas a

los mencionados objetivos.

6. Se dedicó especial atención a los diversos aspectos de participación consultiva en curso, tanto en el contexto de las migraciones intraeuropeas como en el de los países de ultramar. Se subrayó la necesidad de que los gobiernos y las demás instituciones interesadas reflexionen más a fondo sobre la cuestión de la participación consultiva de los migrantes y se insistió en la necesidad de informar al las comunidades autóctonas de los países de acogida sobre estas cuestiones.

7. Algunos países de acogida han constituido una estructura consultiva que comprende grupos de diferentes niveles, que se ocupan de los problemas creados por la presencia de múltiples comunidades étnicas. Puede citarse como ejemplo de ese tipo de organización la creada en Australia, que está articulada en cinco niveles:

i) grupos consultivos nacionales de carácter general;

ii) grupos consultivos, de carácter específico;

iii) grupos *ad hoc* de consulta, de carácter temporal;

iv) instituciones que actúan en esferas especiales, tales como el Servicio Especial de Difusión ('Special Broadcasting Service') y el Servicio de Traductores e Intérpretes ('National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters');

v) comités de dirección que llevan a la práctica las instrucciones del Ministro responsable de ese sector.

8. Sue subrayó que los refugiados, pese al carácter específico de su situación en comparación con la situación de los migrantes, tienen también interés en conservar su identidad cultural de origen.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. No debería haber obstáculo alguno, ni en la ley ni en la práctica, a la posibilidad de los migrantes de asociarse, ni restricción alguna a la posibilidad de crear federaciones o cualquier otra forma de reagrupación de las asociaciones de inmigrados -tanto en el nivel local como en el nacional- que puedan facilitar la representación de los migrantes ante el país de origen y ante el país de acogida.

2. Las organizaciones internacionales, tanto gubernamentales como no gubernamentales, así como las organizaciones voluntarias, deberían esforzarse por sensibilizar más a los gobiernos, a los interlocutores sociales y a la opinión pública en general, sobre la necesidad de instituir formas de participación consultiva de los migrantes, provechosas tanto para las personas consideradas como para las comunidades.

3. Los países interesados deberían examinar la posibilidad de crear, en los niveles adecuados, como parte de sus políticas nacionales, órganos de participación consultiva.

4. Esos órganos deberían respetar la autonomía de representación de los migrantes y darse normas de funcionamiento flexibles y dinámicas, teniendo en cuenta las características propias de las modalidades de participación con respecto al país de origen y al país de acogida.

5. Sería necesario fomentar formas regionales y descentralizadas de participación de los migrantes, capaces de mantener vínculos con su país de origen y permitir su presencia en el tejido sociocultural local, al que por lo general están más apegados.

6. Toda política de participación debería entrañar una cooperación amplia entre los países de emigración y los países de acogida interesados, asociando lo más ampliamente posible a las organizaciones representativas de empleadores y de trabajadores de los países interesados, así como a todo organismo que actúe en esa esfera.

Conservación de la cultura de los inmigrantes, participación en los valores culturales y cuestiones conexas

CONCLUSIONES

1. Los países tradicionales de inmigración, tales como Australia y el Canadá, han visto modificarse en los años recientes el concepto original de la asimilación del migrante por la sociedad de acogida. Aunque anteriormente se esperaba que los migrantes fuesen absorbidos con facilidad por la cultura del nuevo país, se hizo patente que, por el contrario, muchos de ellos conservaban en gran parte su propia identidad cultural. Como consecuencia, en los años recientes, esos Gobiernos han adoptado el concepto de la sociedad multicultural. Ello requiere nuevos enfoques y procedimientos no sólo con respecto a las comunidades étnicas sino también con respecto a la comunidad de acogida. Entre las medidas adoptadas con ese objeto, figuran el establecimiento de consejos multiculturales para fomentar las actividades culturales, los planes de ayuda económica a los migrantes, el establecimiento de centros de recursos de los migrantes para el desarrollo de las actividades basadas en los esfuerzos personales dentro de las comunidades étnicas, el fomento de las artes étnicas que, a su vez, hace que el país de acogida adquiera conciencia de la riqueza cultural de la mayor parte de los grupos étnicos, así como la educación multicultural y la conservación de los idiomas étnicos.
2. Aunque, por una parte, se reconoció que, en la práctica, la distinción entre la migración 'temporal' a Europa y la migración 'permanente' a los países de ultramar se iba haciendo menos tajante, se desprendió claramente de los debates que las políticas difieren de un país a otro. Por ejemplo, en Bélgica, el Gobierno no ha establecido una política rígida, sino que ha adoptado un enfoque pragmático. Se deja a los migrantes libertad de opción dentro de la estructura económica y social del país. En tanto que, en Israel, se dió en un principio prioridad a la asimilación rápida de los migrantes, se comprende ahora que el proceso había sido demasiado intenso y, aunque es necesario un cierto lapso de tiempo entre la integración del migrante y el retorno a su subcultura, se reconoce que la subcultura resurgirá inevitablemente a la superficie. La experiencia de los Países Bajos ha demonstrado que hay una correlación entre la posición socioeconómica del migrante y su capacidad de atender a sus propias necesidades culturales. En Suiza, se considera que el principio de la territorialidad, que se aplica ya tanto a los migrantes nacionales (por ejemplo, a los suizos de habla francesa que se establecen en la Suiza de habla alemana o viceversa) como a los inmigrantes, desempeña un papel importante y constituye un obstáculo considerable para la creación de una sociedad multicultural. Aunque se da prioridad al fomento de la integración, se respeta la cultura étnica de los migrantes.

3. El Seminario subrayó la importancia de que los Gobiernos continúen favoreciendo y las comunidades de acogida apoyando el desarrollo de las asociaciones étnicas y legitimen la identidad étnica y de que apoyen las culturas y los idiomas étnicos. Sin embargo, hubo acuerdo general en que las asociaciones étnicas que se creen pueden plantear a los Gobiernos ciertos dilemas entre los que se mencionó a los siguientes:

- Hasta qué punto deben limitarse o fomentarse los papeles desempeñados por los Gobiernos de acogida y las asociaciones étnicas;
- Hay un conflicto potencial, con respecto a las situaciones sociales y económicas de los migrantes, ante la creciente importancia de las asociaciones étnicas y el orden estructural existente;
- Al dar validez a las asociaciones étnicas - y al reconocerla - puede ocurrir que las personas se encuentren encerradas en el grupo y de que se reduzca la movilidad económica y social de las personas;
- Al fomentar la pluralidad de las instituciones, idiomas y sistemas puede debilitarse la cohesión del conjunto de la sociedad;
- Los esfuerzos realizados para establecer y dar valor a la identidad étnica de las personas pueden disminuir la libertad de éstas para escoger su propia identidad.

4. Se subrayó el derecho de la persona a escoger su propia identidad y se señaló que la conservación de las culturas inmigrantes no debe ir en detrimento del principio de igualdad de oportunidades y de trato.

5. Se llamó la atención sobre el hecho de que, por lo general, la segunda generación tiende a identificarse más con la sociedad de acogida y se subrayó la importancia del papel de los padres en lo que se refiere a la ayuda para el mantenimiento de los vínculos culturales con el país de origen.

La participación del migrante en la vida política del país de origen en el contexto de su integración

CONCLUSIONES

1. En los anteriores Seminarios sobre Adaptación e Integración de los inmigrantes Permanentes, el CIME ha presentado propuestas para el estudio de los posibles medios de integración en el país de acogida. Hay que tener en cuenta la diferente situación de los inmigrantes asentados en países que conceden rápidamente la naturalización y, por consiguiente, el pleno ejercicio de los derechos políticos) y la de los inmigrantes que tropiezan con dificultades para ejercer los derechos en el país de acogida.
2. Pese al apoyo aportado por diversas organizaciones internacionales a las sugestiones encaminadas a la concesión del derecho de sufragio a los inmigrantes (por lo menos, en lo que se refiere a las elecciones municipales), los países de acogida han mostrado una considerable reticencia al respecto; en consecuencia, será necesario, tal vez explorando nuevos canales, encontrar procedimientos jurídicos que permitan a los inmigrantes mantener sus vínculos (desde el punto de vista político) con alguna sociedad; por exclusión de la del país de acogida queda la del país de origen.
3. Se juzgó deseable que los gobiernos interesados puedan adoptar en la próxima Conferencia de Ministros Europeos responsables de la administración local, que se celebrará en Madrid en 1980, con los auspicios del Consejo de Europa, medidas positivas para permitir la participación de los inmigrantes, en los casos apropiados, en el funcionamiento de los sistemas de representación, en el nivel local, de país de acogida.

RECOMENDACIONES

1. Deben fomentarse acuerdos bilaterales entre los Estados democráticos interesados que permitan a sus ciudadanos respectivos que residan en el extranjero, y sobre la base de reciprocidad, votar en las elecciones de sus representantes en el nivel municipal.
2. Debe instarse a los Gobiernos de los países de emigración a facilitar la participación en la vida política de sus respectivos ciudadanos que residen en el extranjero, concediéndoles el derecho de sufragio y estableciendo un sistema adecuado que les permita ejercerlo.
3. Debe instarse a los Gobiernos de los países de acogida:

a) En el caso de que la votación se celebre en el país de acogida: autorizar el desarrollo normal de la elección en su territorio, aportando la cooperación necesaria al país de

de origen;

b) En el caso de que la elección se celebre en el país de origen: adoptar, de acuerdo con las autoridades interesadas, todas las medidas necesarias para facilitar el viaje al país de origen;

c) En ambos casos, dar la seguridad de que puede proporcionárseles información adecuada para facilitar el ejercicio responsable del derecho de sufragio.

4. El Seminario observó que la concesión de la nacionalidad del país de acogida a los inmigrantes, no siempre implica la pérdida de la nacionalidad de origen. Esto puede provocar conflictos en cuanto a la fidelidad y a las obligaciones políticas de las personas interesadas con respecto a su país de origen y de las de su país de acogida. El Seminario recomienda que los Gobiernos interesados estudien a fondo el problema de la doble nacionalidad y las posibles consecuencias políticas del mismo.

Expert Papers

Communications des Experts

Estudios de Expertos

Consultative Participation and the Role of Immigrants' Associations in relation to the Country of Origin (Interrelationship with the Country of Employment)

BY

CARLOS CASTRO-ALMEIDA

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we propose to examine briefly the question of the forms of consultative participation and representation of migrants in relation to their country of origin. We propose to approach this topic from the angle of the part played by immigrants' associations in such a process of consultative participation.

Moreover, it seems to us necessary to consider the consultative participation of migrants in the country of origin in close relationship with their participation in the country of employment, these being in fact interdependent aspects. Consultative participation in this context seems to us to be, before all else, a possible means of implementing the foreign worker's civil rights, but also as something approaching an imperative necessity, both as a means of preserving the foreign worker's culture and national identity and as a means of facilitating his partial integration in the country of employment, avoiding, so far as possible, tensions within the societies concerned and tensions among the migrants themselves.

RECENT TRENDS IN MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS AND THE QUESTION OF MIGRANT PARTICIPATION

The discussion on the migrant worker's right to participate in the public life of both the country of employment and the country from which he has emigrated is comparatively recent. Action taken by governments has generally been directed in priority towards those aspects of the migrant's situation which are essentially pertinent to production, and governments, faced with situations in respect of employment, working conditions and housing often calling for urgent measures, have paid relatively less at-

tention to the socio-cultural needs of foreign workers. In consequence, there has arisen a tendency to regard the migrant mainly as a production unit, and much less as a member of society. The migrant worker's status as an economic agent and his status as a citizen have come to be dissociated from one another. It should be noted, moreover, that such dissociation seemed to be a matter of course, since in the early days of post-war European migratory movements such movements were generally considered to be temporary flows related to sectoral needs and to needs dictated by the general economic situation - needs associated with the economic expansion at that time very marked of the industrial countries. The temporary character of the migratory movements corresponded to the more immediate needs of the labour market, foreign labour being used as an instrument of trade-cycle policy (1).

It is noteworthy that the apparently temporary character of migration for purposes of employment also seemed to correspond to the interests of the migrants themselves. The foreign worker being very often a single man, his expatriation entailed only a very low level of family migration and was regarded by him as a purely temporary event which would come to an end as soon as the accumulation of a certain amount of capital enabled him to return to his country of origin and live there in improved circumstances.

This situation has changed a great deal in recent years. The progressive organization of migratory flows by the competent authorities of the countries directly concerned; the gradual but ultimately clear realization of the structural character of the phenomenon of migration; the development of tensions, and sometimes of actual conflicts, revealing the high social and political cost of a massive recourse to immigrant labour; all these factors have shared in bringing about the adoption of measures designed to improve the migrant's working and living conditions. It should be stressed that the normative and operational action of the international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, has greatly contributed to this positive development. Through the various initiatives taken both by international organizations and by governments there has been a gradual move towards recognition - at least in law, but also often in fact - of the principle of equality of opportunity and remuneration for migrant and indigenous workers (2). There has arisen almost everywhere a concern to overcome the discriminatory measures under which foreign workers still suffer.

This trend towards recognition and strengthening of the migrant's rights was further accentuated when the great majority of Europe's countries of employment decided to end immigration, in the years 1973 and 1974. The restrictions on new entries seemed to a number of observers to be capable of playing a major part in promoting more active and more systematic consideration of the social, cultural and civil implications of migration. For, no longer having to control movements of labour, but being faced more particularly with the problem of solving the problems of migrant workers already installed and becoming increasingly permanent, the authorities of the countries concerned seemed to be in a position to establish more comprehensive migration policies designed for the medium term. In view of the structural character of the migratory movements, those policies had to meet the needs of the economy, of course; but they also had to meet the desire of many migrants to become integrated into the society of the receiving country while preserving very close cultural and social ties with the country of origin. In reality, the migrants' own approach to expatriation underwent changes. For a significant number of foreign workers it became manifest that an early return to the home country was unlikely. The length of stay tended to increase. Family reunification, which has increased very substantially in recent times, doubtless expresses the mi-

grant's new attitude. His aspirations and needs have also changed: hence forth, opportunities for real occupational and social promotion, for the education of his children, for the preservation of the culture of his country of origin and for participation in public life and in the adoption of decisions that concern him will become increasingly prominent in the demands made by the foreign worker in the majority of countries of employment.

In reality, one cannot help observing that the new migration policy has not, in general, led to a full use of all the opportunities offered by the prospect of integration of the migrant workers already present in the countries of employment. It is true that their situation has improved quite substantially, but that improvement has often taken the form of measures mainly designed better to integrate in the productive process the substantial stock of foreigners installed in the industrial countries (3).

The extension of political rights proper (right to vote and to be elected) and of rights of participation in municipal, regional and national affairs, aiming at the socio-political integration of migrants, has been very timid, not to say almost non-existent in some cases. Except in the case of Sweden, which country, as is generally known, awarded voting rights and the right of election at the communal level to migrant workers in 1975, the award of political rights, even at the local level, has been blocked almost everywhere by the existing systems of law which reserve those rights as a matter of principle to nationals of the country. On the other hand, some endeavours have been made in the matter of the migrant's right to participate in a consultative capacity in the management of local affairs. But these endeavours have not always received the necessary support and have as a general rule not been able to pass beyond an experimental level which would moreover seem to be permanently restricted to quite a limited number of cases.

It should be observed, however, that the discussion of these questions has almost always centred on civil rights and rights of participation in the countries of reception. The integration of foreign workers primarily concerns the receiving countries, and in this sense it is normal that the possibilities and the ways and means of associating the migrant with decisions to be adopted at the local and even national level should first and foremost be discussed in and by those countries. However, the integration of the migrant into the society of the country of employment remains functionally tied to the economic process; it is accordingly limited, and very rarely proceeds as far as assimilation (4). In this context the migrant often lives, in fact, between two realities, two cultures, two reference systems, i.e. that of his country of origin, to which he remains attached by his national identity, and that of his country of employment, in which he seeks to achieve integration. This means that the need for participation exists in relation both to the society of the receiving country and to that of the country of emigration.

Not enough attention has been given to the extent to which these two aspects are interrelated and constitute two faces of one and the same overall process. This corresponds to the inherent reality of migratory movements; for departure, sojourn and return (actual, or merely in the form of a kind of idealized project) constitute three distinct but closely interdependent critical points. So much so that it very often happens that those migrants who are most fully integrated into the life and society of the country of employment are also the ones who succeed best in maintaining close and living ties with their culture of origin. And, inversely, migrants who are ill-adapted to the society of the receiving country sometimes have great difficulty in assuming their national identity as well. It seems to us, therefore, that the migrant's participation in the local life

of the country of employment may in certain circumstances constitute a complementary (and not a contrary) aspect of the policy aiming at preserving his cultural and national identity. Similarly, the participation of an expatriate worker in decisions taken in the country of emigration which concern him may constitute a factor facilitating his integration into the society of the employing country.

Briefly, then, the migrant workers's political and civil rights constitute a whole, whether exercised in relation to the society of the country of employment or in relation to that of the country of origin. These rights should therefore be viewed as an integrated whole in the context of enhanced co-operation between the countries concerned, i.e. the country of origin and the host country. Otherwise the host countries run the risk of excluding from their democratic system, and in a sense of marginalizing, an entire category of workers, despite those workers' contribution to the productive system. The countries of origin likewise run the risk of marginalizing a significant proportion of their citizens if those countries fail to take the measures necessary to extend the exercise of democracy to their nationals working abroad.

POSITION OF AND ACTION BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Governmental and non-governmental international organizations play a preponderant part in making governments, the social partners and public opinion aware of the problem of the extension of the immigrant worker's civil and political rights.

By way of example we would cite the efforts made by the Commission of the European Communities to organize representation of the migrant worker's interests at the local level. In its Action Programme for Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, placed before the Council on 18 December 1974, the Commission expressed the view that the target to be aimed at was that of enabling migrant workers to participate fully, by 1980 at the latest, in local elections, under certain conditions yet to be defined, more particularly in the matter of the duration of residence. The Commission added that in the immediate future, and as an intermediate stage, action should be undertaken to promote the migrant's participation in the life of the local community in all Member Countries through the institution of a system of consultative bodies which would enable the migrant to exert a real influence on the decisions to be taken at that level (5). In its resolution of 9 February 1976, however, the Council confined itself to expressing the desire that the work put in hand to implement point 11 of the communiqué of the conference of heads of government held in Paris on 9 and 10 December 1974, concerning the award of special rights to citizens of Member States, should be speeded (6). It should be noted, incidentally, that the European Parliament, expressing itself on the programme of action on behalf of migrant workers which the Commission had drawn up, took the view that the grant of civil and political rights should be widened in preparation for the election of the European Parliament by direct suffrage (7).

The Council of Europe has likewise evinced interest in this question. Thus, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in its Recommendation 799(77), requested the Committee of Ministers:

(a) to put forward detailed proposals for the setting up of consultative councils that would express the point of view of aliens at the local-community level;

(b) to invite Member Governments to consider the experience acquired by countries that had already granted voting rights to aliens at the local-community level (Sweden) and to study the possibility of granting such rights in their own countries to aliens having fulfilled certain conditions of residence;

(c) to amend the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as to exclude the restrictions, at present authorized under Article 16, on the exercise by aliens of the freedoms guaranteed by Articles 10 and 11.

The Conference of European Local and Regional Authorities meeting in May 1977 took up this question and proposed that the Council of Europe should incorporate, in its intergovernmental work programme, activities on the participation of migrant workers in local public life (8). It should be added that Council of Europe Resolution (74) 14, adopted by the Committee of Ministers in May 1974, already included under its item (e) a proposal to the effect that "the participation of migrant workers and their families in the life of the local community in countries of immigration should be promoted" (9).

In this very brief outline of action taken by the international organizations it would be wrong to fail to draw attention to the active part played by non-governmental organizations in this matter, a part evidenced by, *inter alia*, the International Non-Governmental Organizations Conference on Discrimination against Migrant Workers in Europe, held at Geneva in September 1975. Prominent among that Conference's conclusions is one to the effect that migrant workers should be assured of being able effectively to exercise their fundamental freedoms, and in particular the right of association and of free expression of political opinions (10).

There are two aspects which strike one when one reads these recommendations and conclusions. One is the relatively hesitant character – amply stressed by many observers - of many initiatives and expressions of position in this area. It is true that we are here touching upon questions that are very directly related to State prerogatives, but despite the constitutional obstacles to the enjoyment of political rights by aliens it should be remembered that it would most certainly be possible, without jeopardizing the rights of States, to grant forthwith to migrants the right to participate in local, regional and even national bodies in which decisions concerning them are taken (11). However, what in our view is even more striking is the fact that these matters are viewed almost exclusively from the angle of the migrant's integration in the country of employment, the process of integration not being related to the preservation of the migrant's culture of origin and the maintenance of his national identity. Yet the international organizations have long associated the two ends of the "chain of migration"(12) in analyses of the macro-economic aspects and consequences of migration. Let us simply consider two examples:

(i) First, the ILO's work in this area, in which the general approach entails viewing migration as a comprehensive phenomenon in which both the country of origin and the country of employment participate, so as to "promote concerted and mutually beneficial migration policies" (13). The ILO's pertinent recommendations and conventions are based on the same approach, moreover (14);

(ii) secondly, OECD's action, governed by the principle of an equitable sharing of the advantages of migration as between the manpower-exporting and the manpower-importing countries while reducing the consequent problems and drawbacks to a minimum. This overall approach is the central axis of the guiding principles – incorporated in the Council's Recommendation of March 1976 on a comprehensive employment and manpower policy - designed to facilitate the orientation of migration policies at the national level and their concertation internationally (15). It should be added that the Kindleberger report, recently published, is perhaps even more emphatically directed along the same lines (16).

It would seem that, when one passes from the analysis of migration's economic aspects

to a consideration of its social, cultural and political aspects, the overall character of the phenomenon of migration, through which the countries of departure and the receiving countries are associated in a common process, tends to be overlooked.
As opposed to that trend, we are inclined to the view that the "chain of migration" in fact constitutes a global process. Not merely because it embraces the country of emigration and the country of employment simultaneously, but above all because this interdependence concerns the economic aspects no less and no more than it does the cultural, social, civil and political aspects of migration.

IMMIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS: REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN RELATION TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

It is important to bear in mind that the history of intra-European post-war migration already extends over a period of about thirty years. This is an apparently commonplace fact, but its importance is generally underestimated because of the view that migratory flows are a phenomenon related solely to the economic cycle. In fact, the tendency to regard these movements against the short-term background only has made it almost inevitable for the building up of their history to pass unnoticed. But this relatively long period during which intra-European migratory movements have persisted and which is in reality an outcome of the structural character of those movements has made possible the gradual establishment of immigrant communities in the countries of employment, despite the "rotational" character that people sought to ascribe to these flows of manpower. The migrant workers have gradually settled in. A substantial number of them have now brought in their families, so that wives, children and old people have come along to complement and diversify an immigration that at the outset was almost solely of males - mainly young males.

All this has in the end established a complex socio-cultural fabric through which the social forms and cultural traits peculiar to the society of the country of origin are maintained and at the same time modified. This fabric, at the outset little more than a matter of family and/or neighbourly solidarity (17), tends to become increasingly complex and diversified. It also tends to become organized. The migrants establish various organizations - clubs, recreational and sporting groups, cultural, political and religious associations and the like.
Associations of migrants are generally set up for a clearly defined purpose and to meet specific needs - either the defence of the foreign workers's interests in the face of particular problems which he has to deal with in the matter of work, status, housing, etc., or the re-establishment of national solidarity and national identity.
However, as was already pointed out by *Thomas* and *Znaniecki* in their now classic analysis of the life of Polish immigrants to the United States of America, the social function of such associations is by no means limited to their explicit and conscious purpose; an association, as a specific group of persons, gives rise to other interests (18). In other words, the associations very often perform latent functions which from the individual migrant's point of view may be more important than their ostensible functions. Being basically organizations for defending the interests of migrants as "alien producers", they additionally perform a multitude of related and derived functions - educational, recreative, cultural and even affective (reconstitution of a family environment able to help migrants to find their cultural identity again and thereby to overcome the state of alternation between two cultures that often characterizes the immigrant's situation).

This multiplicity of functions may enable the migrant to find some components of a response, certain reference data and even some possible solutions to the numerous problems that affect him on account of his particular situation.

It should be stressed, then, that migrant's associations tend to constitute for foreign workers primary groups in which social relations, cultural structures and modes of being and reacting characteristic of the country of origin are re-established. The associations thus play a central part as a place where migrants tend to establish a "national space" for themselves *(19)*, a space that in effect constitutes a link between the expatriate worker and his country of origin. Foreign worker's associations thus constitute what have been called *plates-formes de représentativité* for migrants *(20)*.

But this representational function very often remains latent; it springs more from the actual day-to-day relations established among the members of the association, relations which tend to lead to activities capable of legitimizing migrant representation, than it does from any formal and/or official assignment. However, once the immigrant communities have reached a certain level of organization and complexity, this does not prevent competition and sometimes even an outright struggle within an association or among a number of associations seeking to establish a clear right to represent migrants. It seems to us that the latent representational function, through its informality, generally allows the diverse currents of opinion and interest existing in immigrant communities to express themselves, whereas the manifest representative role is often established on the basis of a pattern of hegemony and centralization that harbours the danger of diminishing the richness of such communities, a richness made up of a plurality of specific trends, to the level of one or other of the dominant political and doctrinal trends.

This is why we are of the opinion that the representation of migrant workers, an essential function of their associations, does not necessarily gain by being formalized from outside the associative movement. It sometimes happens that political parties or simple ideological or opinion groups seek to control the associations in order to establish a kind of monopoly of migrant representation. But that monopoly is liable to deprive the associations of the diversity of their roles; the associations, originally plurifunctional, may become monofunctional and then tend to sink to the level of mere pressure groups that gradually shed their specificity.

This same risk also exists, moreover, in respect of a possible loss of the migrants' associations' autonomy vis-à-vis the State. These associations, being in such an event nothing more than mere agents of a central power, seek to impose on migrant workers patterns of behaviour, thought and action which are in fact the expression of social (and sometimes even political) supervision from without, with no direct connexion with the social relations existing within the associations themselves. It is possible that such associations might be declared representative of the migrants. In point of fact this "nationalization", as it were, of representation, making representation an official or semi-official function, often "freezes" associations, which then tend to solidify into rigid groups with no function of their own. The way from there to the status of mere institutional fictions is extremely short.

However, we are describing relatively extreme cases. In general, the true situation is not one of either complete external control or full autonomy; there may be a wide diversity of situations - of struggle, of agreement or of co-ordination between the actions taken by the associations, by the political parties, by the trade-unions, by organizations of various kinds, and by States. The outcome is usually a compromise, a more or less unsteady compromise, between the actions taken by the aforesaid groups or par-

ties. A compromise which migrants attempt to guide in a direction favourable to them by establishing, for example, federations of associations capable of unifying and to some extent strengthening their independent representativeness.

The situation can be summarized as follows:

(a) The associations act as intermediaries between the migrant worker and his country of origin; they accordingly perform a very important function of representation vis-à-vis the country of origin.

(b) This representative function, necessary to enable expatriated workers to participate in the cultural, social and civil life of the country of origin and thus to preserve their national identity, very often remains latent, but tends, with the growing complexity of the immigrant communities, to become the centre of struggle for the social and political control of the associative movement. The aim of such control is to establish forms of apparent representativity that are too often formal, rigid, uniform and centralized.

(c) In a migration context the representation and participation of migrants assume specific forms which as a rule are the expression of a compromise between the action of the States concerned, the action of the migrant workers through their associations and federations, and the action of the political parties, trade-unions and other groups.

(d) This compromise, this unstable and shifting equilibrium, tends in specific situations (trade cycle; country; region; interplay of forces; etc.) to render the migrants' representation - and participation in that representation - vis-à-vis the country of origin *flexible, heterogenous* and *many-faceted*, and accordingly appropriate to the task of preserving the *autonomy* of the associative movement against excessively centralizing trends and against any temptation to establish hegemony.

REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN RELATION TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN: SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Having glanced at a number of considerations of a general nature, let us now examine a few specific achievements which concern two countries of origin, Italy and Spain. The choice of Italy for such a review is a matter of course in view of the very long-standing and very rich experience of this country of emigration in the matter of the immigrant workers' participation in consultations and elections. Spain's situation is somewhat different, but it is also very instructive in more than one respect, for this country is in the throes of transition between a classic policy of supervision of manpower departures and a new policy towards immigrant communities, a policy which seems open to the establishment of conditions enabling migrants to participate in decisions that directly affect them. That is why it seems to us desirable to take up this body of experience also, despite the recency of its beginnings.

The case of Italy. The discussion on the Italian migrant's participation, both consultative and in elections in the country's public life goes back a long way. In fact it accompanied the great migratory "rush" which Italy experienced at the beginning of the century in particular. If one excludes the period situated largely between the two wars, it is apparent that this discussion and the various concrete achievements that emerged from it fit into a more general political policy of concertation between the various partners and social forces. The basic aim sought is to maintain the migrant's ties with his native country and perhaps above all with the region in which his earliest home was situated, the migrant being considered as an integral part of the internal socio-cultural and political fabric.

We will accordingly review the various bodies through which Italian migrants exerci-

se participation, placing the emphasis on experiments in consultative participation:
(i) *The Consultative Committee for Italians Abroad (CCIA)* was established under the Italian Presidential Decree No. 18, dated 5 January 1967, and was reorganized by Act No. 1221 of 15 December 1971.
The essential purpose of CCIA was to assist the Central Administration in identifying the problems of migrants and to express opinions on assistance to Italians abroad. The reorganization of 1971 was prompted by a variety of criticisms, mainly emanating from trade-unions and migrants' associations and relating more particularly to the low level of representativity of the orginal body (in which the trade-unions were not represented) and to the character, deemed to be excessively administrative and insuffiently dynamic, of the forms of participation of immigrant communities *(21)*. The Act of 1971 changed the constitution of CCIA, which from then onwards comprises 39 representatives of Italian immigrant communities, 7 representatives of the competent government authorities, 3 representatives of trade-union organizations, 10 experts (at least five of them resident abroad), and 2 representatives of the Federation of the Italian Press abroad *(22)*. This restructuring exercise brought into the organization itself the discussion on the participation and representation of migrant workers, but in the course of the years CCIA's potentialities have gradually been exhausted. CCIA seemed from the outset to be beset by a certain measure of institutional vagueness. Thus, although directly dependent on the initiative of the competent authorities, it lacked certain items necessary to its functioning (the fact that there was no permanent secretariat, for example, has often been presented as a hindrance to the continuity of the organization's work) *(23)* and seemed to have relatively little influence on the real decisions adopted in the matter of migration policy. We should stress, however, that CCIA enabled an awareness to grow up gradually of the needs that exist in migrant representation and participation. The body in question has, in particular, shown the great importance attached to the active participation of immigrant workers, through their representatives, in the institutions of the country of origin as being the most satisfactory method of enabling them to remain closely and organically associated with the society of their origin. Moreover, this body has - even if only through the discussion it has prompted – opened the door to practices promoting concertation between the Government, the immigrants' associations, the trade-unions and the political parties. From now onwards there will be a marked trend in Italy towards defining the country's national policy in the matter of migration on the basis of very wide participation.
Recognition of CCIA's to some extent pioneering role has led to the endeavour, particularly after the National Conference on Emigration in 1975, to lay the foundations for a new consultative body that will be more adequate and will better meet the requirements of Italian emigration in the nineteen-eighties *24)*. Three Bills on these lines have been placed before Parliament. It would seem that there is a movement towards the establishment of an "Italian Council of Emigration" having broader powers than CCIA and widely open to migrants, to the social partners, and to representatives of the regions *(25)*.
(ii) The *Consular Assistance Committees* are consultative bodies able to function in connexion with embassies and consulates in regions having considerable numbers of Italian immigrants. Set up by Presidential Decree No. 18 of 5 January 1967, which Decree governs the administration of foreign affairs, they were called upon to assist the consular authorities, particularly in the matters of assistance to and training of Italian citizens working in the areas assigned to the respective authorities. But "the Act (= Decree) does not regulate the procedure for the appointment of participants, leaves

too much room for intervention by the consular authorities, and clearly limits the representative character of the Committees" *(26)*. Indeed, it should be made clear that the establishment of these Committees is not mandatory and accordingly largely depends on the consular authorities' disposition to accept this kind of concertation.
However, while the vagueness of the law established by the Decree may indeed be an obstacle to the constitution and development of Committees of this type, it also affords the possibility of a very wide diversity of activities and of forms of participation in cases where some degree of concurrence exists between the dynamism of the communities and that of the consular authorities.
In point of fact, the law established by the Decree has in the end been overtaken by the phenomena of local dynamism, and since a reform of the Consular Assistance Committees has already been provided for, pertinent Bills having been tabled in Parliament, a great deal of highly varied practical work has been put in hand meanwhile, pending the availability of more precise information on the future of consultative bodies of this kind. Committees specifically concerned with the schooling problems of migrants' children have been set up in many places. Federations made up of a plurality of migrants' associations have come into being, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Switzerland, in the form of *Comitati nazionali o cittadini d'intesa* ("National or local Committees of Agreement").
A compromise has in fact been gradually established between the "appointment" system of migrant representation prescribed by the Act of 1967 and a semi-elective system, so that the consular authorities directly appoint a few representatives from among the immigrants, the others being independently elected from among the senior officers of migrant associations and federations.
To sum up, it can be said that the Consular Assistance Committees have, despite and perhaps even because of certain limitations, in fact cleared the way for a considerable number of local initiatives, highly diversified according to the circumstances of each case, all of which tend to make the migrants' links with the Administration easier and more direct while at the same time facilitating their insertion in the social and cultural fabric of the country of origin.
In addition, these Committees have proved very useful in the matter of the migrant's representation in relations with the country of employment. The migrants who are members of the Committees are reprentative spokesmen and recognized as such by the local and national authorities of the receiving country.
Through the channels of communication and interaction set up in this way, the Committees tend to facilitate the integration of migrants in the country of reception while at the same time helping them to maintain organic links with the country of origin.
(iii) The *Regional Consultative Councils for Emigration* constitute what is incontestably one of the most interesting initiatives taken in this area. Since the Friuli-Venezia Giulia Regional Government set up the first Council of this kind in 1969/1970, its example being followed in 1973 by the Regional Government of Umbria, almost all Italian regions have established regional consultative bodies concerned with the problems of migration. The establishment of these Councils is an outcome of what has been described as the paramount importance attaching to the phenomenon of migration in regional development policy *(27)*.
Accordingly, their prerogatives are as a rule fairly wide; these Councils concern themselves with the questions that arise in connexion with the local consequences of the expatriation of workers organating from the region - consequences both to the migrants themselves and to the local community and its possibilities of economic development.

Under article 11 of Decree No. 616, dated 24 July 1977, which grants autonomy to the regions in the matter of regional development programmes, the regions are able to intervene in all aspects of migration that may affect local development more or less directly *(28)*. Accordingly, they adopt measures in connexion with the return of migrants (establishment of unemployment and social assistance funds, occupational reintegration, child education and schooling, etc.), decide on the best use to be made of savings derived from migrants: remittances, establish occupational-training policies tailored to regional employment policies, etc.

The extent of their powers is reflected in their very broad span of membership; as a rule they include representatives of the regional, communal and provincial administrations, representatives of the immigrant workers and of migrants' associations, representatives of the trade-unions, representatives of the social-assistance institutions, and representatives of the employers.

The growing importance of the regional Councils in connexion with migratory movements and the part played by these Councils in working out concerted policies at the regional level led to the holding at Senigallia, in October 1978, of the first *Conferenza Nazionale delle Consulte Regionali dell'Emigrazione* (National Conference of Regional Consultative Councils for Emigration), attended by large numbers of immigrants workers *(29)*.

This movement towards the regionalization of migration policy, which matches a decentralization of the forms of participation of migrants, possesses a degree of importance that should be stressed most emphatically, for it is in particular at the regional level that migration problems are of express and specific concern to the expatriated worker. The latter remains attached above all to his region of origin, which for him is often a much more positive reality than the nation. Hence the importance of regionalization and decentralization of measures of reception and reinsertion when an ex-emigrant returns to his homeland. Hence, also, the importance of the presence of immigrant workers in consultative bodies of local concern - not only from the point of view of the maintenance of organic ties with their native region, but also from that of awakening an awareness of the problems of migration in the populations that have remained in their own region. This network of ties and movements of solidarity through which the population that is "away" continues to be present in the midst of the local population tends to facilitate the acceptance of the migrants when they come back, such acceptance being the first step necessary for a reinsertion capable of leading to productive activities.

In a word, this regional and decentralized form of participation by immigrant workers in the economic and social life of the region of origin seems to us to afford very promising prospects for the future.

The Italian experiment, which we have just presented in a necessarily sketchy way, is rich in lessons:

(a) The Italian institutional framework concerned with the participation of migrants exhibits the interesting feature that it tends towards an overall inter-articulation of the various localities, levels and bodies at which or in which immigrant workers are called upon to play a part; i.e. in Italy, at the regional level (Regional Councils) and at the national level (future National Emigration Council); and in the countries of employment, at the consulate level (whatever emerges from the reform of the Consular Assistance Committees). Thus the institutional framework tends to embrace the "internal" and "external" aspects of emigration and its national and local aspects at one and the same

time.

(b) The participation of immigrant Italian workers in these various consultative bodies has introduced into the fashioning of migration policy habits and mechanisms of concertation which tend towards the establishment of some degree of possible consensus in an area which, while it concerns the working world before all else, is not without profound implications, at all levels, for the nation as a whole.

(c) The existence of immigrant-participation bodies within the country not only permits the presence of immigrants in the regional and the national context, thereby linking expatriated workers with their own country, but in addition compels their association-type movements to organize themselves internally and *inter se* with a view to better representation within the consultative bodies. This is an advance, therefore, in the direction of structuring the immigrant communities.

(d) Participation at the consulate level, despite the excessive vagueness of the ways and means contemplated under the Decree, affords a glimpse of all the potentialities of a policy of this type towards immigrant communities. What should be stressed in particular is the increased representation of migrants in relation with the country of employment and the links that are thus established with the local institutions - links which tend to facilitate fuller integration of migrants.

(e) Attempts to set up consultative bodies too manifestly administrative and State-operated in character seem to lead to less satisfactory results; they crystallize migrants' opposition instead of promoting their participation and support; they often advocate excessively theoretical and abstract solutions whose application in practice is sometimes found to be meaningless in the face of the real situation; and they unify and "verticalize" solutions where it would be more appropriate to diversify and "horizontalize" the responses to be made to specific realities.

(f) The discrepancy between "decreed" solutions and actual achievements is particularly striking in the case with which we are concerned; this is doubtless largely due to the specific dialectics displayed by the society considered, but it also shows all the fullness allowed and created by bringing such a system of immigrant-worker participation into effect. It is also, it should be added, a demonstration of the creative capacity of the migrants themselves, a capacity that is sharpened by the acuteness of their needs and by their direct and specific knowledge of the problems and of the desirable and possible solutions to them.

(g) A word, too, about the competent authorities' willingness to adapt themselves to concrete situations. Italy, regarding itself as a country of emigration, seems to have adopted pragmatically, in the matter of migration policy, a compromise path between initiatives taken by the State and initiatives adopted by migrant workers and political and trade-union forces both within and outside the country. In an area in which powerful interventionist trends exist, this is an observation that merits emphasis.

(h) Finally, it is necessary to emphasize the potentialities of experience in regionalization in migration policy and the very positive aspects of decentralization in immigrant-worker representation. It must be added, however, that it has been possible to put it into practice with advantage only as a particular aspect of a policy of regionalization now firmly anchored in the Italian context. For that reason any application of this form of participation and representation to other countries of emigration presupposes some degree of regionalist tradition and, in particular, an overall regional policy that is actually working.

Recent experience in Spain. The political changes that have brought democracy to

Spain have made it possible to open a discussion on emigration and the country's migration policy, a discussion which is beginning to have practical consequences.
Thus a meeting took place at Madrid in 1977 between the Spanish Institute for Emigration (IEE) and representatives of the Associative Movement of Spanish Emigrants in Europe (MAE) who had come from Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden. During this "Study Session" topics related to the essential problems encountered in Europe by Spanish immigrants were discussed. The second such topic was concerned precisely with "ways and means of ensuring representative participation of the Associative Movement of Spanish Emigrants in Europe in the Spanish Administration's structures abroad and in IEE at home" *(30)*. According to the final report on the meeting the establishment of a "National Emigration Council" comprising representatives of the competent authorities, of the trade-unions and of the immigrant workers' associations had been proposed. There had also been proposed, to supplement that National Council, the establishment of "Consular Emigration Councils" attached to the consulates. These consultative bodies would be called upon to express their views on Spain's emigration policy, both as regards its local and as regards its national implications. Attention was drawn in that connexion to the fact that bodies that constituted as it were advance models of consular councils had recently been set up, namely the "Consultative Councils on Schooling", whose members included representatives of associations of immigrants having children of school age; teachers; and consular officers.

It is observable that the proposals put forward by the "national co-ordination" federations and associations included in MAE's membership sought the establishment of an overall institutional framework enabling migrants to participate at both levels, i.e. internal and external. But for the time being the initiatives put in hand by the competent Spanish authorities are more limited in character - but perhaps more practical, too. A beginning has been made by putting in hand a first, restricted-scope experiment in consultative participation at the consular level.
The *Juntas Consulares de Emigración* (Consular Emigration Committees) established under Circular Order No. 28 of 17 January 1978 issued by the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs seem to combine a relatively small measure of power with a rather formal system of representation. In reality, the committees are distinguished in particular by a concern for representativeness and for democratic procedures.

Consular Emigration Committees are set up in consular districts in which there are considerable numbers of Spanish immigrants. Their sole purpose is to draw up proposals with a view to the distribution among the various associations of Spanish immigrants of the annual subsidies awarded by the "National Labour Protection Fund". Such subsidies, known by a term equivalent in meaning to "community assistance", serve to finance the cultural and assistance activities of the immigrants' associations. To qualify for these subsidies the associations have to meet certain requirements; in particular they must be non-profit-making, have a democratically-elected governing committee, and submit a report on the previous year's activities. The Consular Emigration Committees are set up by the consular authorities and not more than eight chairmen of immigrant-worker associations. If the number of local associations of Spanish immigrants exceeds eight, elections must be held so as to limit the total number of association representatives to eight. The elections are in such cases organized by the consular authorities, and all the members of the existing associations' governing committees can stand for election. The electors are all the association chairmen plus one member of each governing committee, elected from the committee, per 50 members of the

association. The electors must choose eight representatives from among the chairmen of the immigrant associations by secret ballot. Once the "Junta" has been set up, proposals for the allocation of "community assistance" grants must be approved by two-thirds of the members present. The proposals are then communicated to the Spanish Institute for Emigration (IEE) at Madrid so that that Institute can "take a final decision on the basis of a motivated resolution" (article 10) *(31)*. However, IEE tends to take the decision only in cases where agreement has not been reached within the "Junta".
This system of election has not been found simple to apply, for which reason the Directorate General of Consular Affairs in the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has, in view of the requests for clarification received from a large number of associations, drawn up supplementary instructions ("Circular Order" No. 84/51 of February 1978) *(32)*.

As can be seen, the "Juntas" have precise and limited powers; they can express themselves on the allocation to be made of the amounts of subsidy to be allotted to the associations - without, incidentally, having to express themselves on the content and possible development of the activities so subsidized. It must be acknowledged, therefore, that their capacity for intervention in the concrete problems of immigrant communities seems to be small. That intervention in fact takes place through the funds to be distributed. But the financial approach to immigrant communities is one of the most complex. It must be borne in mind that the relationship of migrants to money is particularly complicated, even trickey. Money, being in the final resort the reason for the migrant's expatriation, warrants sacrifices and even the acceptance of living conditions that on occasion are very hard; but it also permits a semblance of power and the exhibition of social success when the migrant returns to hiw own country for a holiday or a brief stay. That being so, having to express themselves on the management of public funds may constitute an element of tension among migrants rather than a factor contributing to the structuring of the immigrant communities in their relations with the Administration and, ultimately, with the society of their country of origin.
Moreover, since the associations of immigrants are, as it were, both judge and party in the matter of the subsidies to be granted, these tensions may in some cases develop into conflicts and cleavages. For the "Juntas" are obliged to effect a choice while having no power beyond the possibility of adopting indicative decisions. But these choices are often sufficient to evoke criticism and objections on the part of the associations which, not having received a favourable response, feel themselves discriminated against. This may quite easily extend beyond the purely financial aspect in cases where the choices made are felt to have a slight political or even regionalist flavour *(33)*.
The "Juntas" then seem to achieve a certain blending of consultative with deliberative participation; specific proposals for the allocation of funds, while more positive than a mere expression of opinion, are not finally adopted at the local level because in the last resort they depend on decisions to be taken by IEE. Accordingly, the local character of what the "Junta" does is very relative. It would seem that what we are dealing with here is much more a duty of the central Administration. It is true, however, that the recommendations made by the "Junta" can help IEE to take decisions with a better knowledge of the facts of a situation.

In the light of what has been said it is necessary to consider the experiment as an initial or exploratory one destined to evolve as indicated by the practical results. Some attempts to adapt the "Juntas" are already being prepared; projects are at present being put in hand which aim at widening the powers of the Juntas to include the aspects of "social, cultural and educational advancement, occupational training, assistance and re-

creational, sporting and leisure-time activities *(34)* of Spanish immigrant workers. Some associations of Spanish immigrants have put forward specific proposals for amending the legislative text under which the "Juntas" were established *(35)*.

Another thing that should be stressed as a very positive aspect of this first Spanish initiative is the fact that an attempt has been made to define a system of representation of migrants which uses the method of elections.

What seems important and highly significative in the final resort is the fact that the decision has been taken to embark, in the area of migration policy, on a route embracing participation and representation. It is true that the experiment seems to require measures of readjustment, but it is capable from the outset of setting in motion a procedure of discussion and of awakening a realization of the need for such concertation between the competent authorities, the immigrants' associations and the social partners as will be capable of promoting the development of more extensive links between immigrant communities and the home country.

To sum up, experience acquired by Spain prompts the following reflexions:

(a) It seems important not to dissociate the forms of representation and the content of participation. These two aspects are interdependent, so that the form of representation cannot suffice alone even where it is the expression of a very positive desire to institutionalize a democratic practice in the immigrant communities.

(b) Participation does not seem amenable to too great a measure of restriction. Since the situation of immigrant workers constitutes a whole, it is difficult, and in a sense artificial, to seek to keep their participation confined within limits predetermined by legislative enactment.

(c) In a system of participation and concertation it seems essential clearly to define the responsibilities of the various associated parties. What is sought is, needless to say, not the dissolution or mingling of responsibilities, but rather a joint responsibility in which each partner assumes all its prerogatives and obligations within the sphere of action proper to it.

(d) However, the context out of which this first experiment emerged warrants emphasis on the innovative capacity and openness of the recent directives promulgated by the body responsible for Spain's migration policy. There has been a changeover in a short period of time from a policy of control to a policy of dialogue, a first step towards genuine concertation. In this sense the experiment exhibits undoubted potentialities, despite its still relatively restricted character.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The brief analysis we have just made cannot do otherwise than prompt a few general remarks on our part - not, however, more or less definitive conclusions. Moreover, the subject matter of our discussion would not warrant such conclusions. In this area the primary requirement is to contribute to a discussion rather than to establish and present considerations as conclusions. The migrant's consultative participation in relation to his country of origin is still at a decidedly embryonic and experimental stage. The existing cases are still too few in number to permit general conclusions from them. The idea itself does not yet seem to be accepted, and the policy of many countries of emigration does not seem to be inspired by any awareness of the need for this type of participation. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that some countries of departure do occasionally put into practice systems of migrant representation and participation which, while they differ in no small degree from those that have been discussed here,

nevertheless constitute attempts, sometimes effective, to organize a system of preserving the links between the expatriated worker and his native country. It is a sufficient confirmation of this observation to think of the countries of emigration which, for historical reasons, have been led to set up abroad networks of associations linking their nationals. These associations sometimes succeed in combining a distinctly "vertical" and centralizing character with a solid grounding in the immigrant communities. So much so that in the end this type of association is able to claim some real rights of representation, a right that is all the more readily acknowledged by the immigrant workers concerned in that it is sometimes exercised in a historical context whose bounds extend beyond those of a mere question of migration.

This brings us to a first comment, i.e. that in the matter of migrant representation and participation there does not seem to exist a sole model or royal road that should be followed everywhere to obtain positive result. Rather does there exist: through the diversity of situations and contexts occurring in migration, a series of various possibilities that should be explored realistically but at the same time with what might be called a "practical utopianism" capable of mobilizing the goodwill of those concerned and channelling their energies towards projects that are viable despite their apparently disfunctional character in relation to the immediate need.

However, the fact that a sole and unique model of representation and participation does not exist does not by any means imply that no rules exist in the area concerned. In point of fact there are regular patterns which must be taken into account in any initiative adopted in the matter, failing which one simply runs the risk of committing once again the errors already committed in the past, while believing, perhaps, that one is opening up pathways for the future.

Such regular patterns spring from the very structure of migratory movements. In view of their function in the productive system and in international economic relations, migratory movements exhibit manifest regular features. But these regular features or patterns are modelled by the specific national, regional and historical contexts prevailing in each individual one of the countries of emigration and immigration concerned. In other words, it is necessary to allow not only for what relates every migratory movement to, and brings it into a common category with, every other such movement, but

Among the regular features of the phenomenon of migration which may find expression in attempts to institute migrant participation, we would mention in

Among the regular features of the phenomenon of migration which may find expression in attempts to institute migrant participation, we would mention in particular:

(a) The comprehensive, integrated character of migrant participation, whence flows the need to connect the "internal" and the "external" aspects of participations, so far as possible, to the country of origin, by setting up national and regional emigration councils, and also consular councils.

(b) This comprehensive and integrated character should also be capable of leading to the establishment of both local and national forms of consultative participation in and by the countries of employment so as to meet the needs of the real situation of immigrant workers, a situation in which partial integration in the society of the receiving country exists together with a tendency to preserve sometimes privileged links with the culture of the country of origin.

(c) Another regular feature resides, in our opinion, in the heterogeneousness of the forms of migrant representation and participation, matching the diversity of the situations and numbers of those concerned.

(d) This last-mentioned aspect brings us to the need to maintain a certain balance be-

tween the initiatives and the powers of the authorities and groups involved (States; social partners; immigrant organizations) so as to make possible a gradual advance towards systems of regulation and concertation, an essential aim of participation in democracy.

(e) In the case of participation of consultative type, the essential aims of concertation are exchanges of ideas and proposals, exchanges which are to some extent independent of any immediate common action. Such a system of concertation has no chance of succeeding unless certain conditions are met, i.e.:

(i) A certain balance of exchanges, which presupposes the relative autonomy of the several parties concerned, and in particular of the immigrant associations and federations. (The autonomy of the States and of the social partners is in general assured from the outset, whereas that of the immigrant associations must in principle be won and maintained, which implies in particular a more far-reaching structuration of the federative movement);

(ii) A minimum level of agreement on the values and objectives to be attained, i.e. a certain degree of consensus which, needless to say, does not exclude tensions and conflicts. This minimum level of agreement is in fact the expression of the compromise inevitably ruling where consultative bodies of this type are set up; and

(iii) A certain degree of continuity, capable both of preserving things achieved but also of questioning them again; this, however, is not possible otherwise than with the aid of certain operating rules, in other words a certain number of constraints accepted by all and defined from the outset. These rules, since their purpose is to facilitate exchange, must be flexible and dynamic and be capable of adaptation to any future direction of development.

(f) Just as the rules of operation must be established on a relatively formal basis, so must the content of participation be left open. That content gains by being defined, not in advance (to do which would at one and the same time limit the scope of participation and alienate it from the realities), but rather in the actual course of concertation and in close relationship with the facts and the real situations involved. This means that the area of concertation must not be closed, but must so far as possible be open to the totality of the problems raised by migration in its present phase.

(g) If these arguments are valid, it becomes manifest that every form of consultative participation of migrants other than the concertation, to which reference has been made, between the Administration of the country of origin, the social partners and the immigrants' associations presupposes co-operation between the respective countries of emigration and of employment. Since the process of integration in the society of the receiving country and the process of preserving the migrant's culture and identity of origin are interdependent, participation in relation to the receiving country and participation in relation to the country of origin are differentiated by integrated aspects of a single system. However, this does not mean that it is necessary to merge these two aspects; each process should be considered within the framework of its own specific features, account being nevertheless taken of its points of interference and interdependence with the complementary process. But this is possible only through the implementation of a broad measure of co-operation capable of leading to reciprocally beneficial joint action by the countries of departure and of employment.

Now that we have reached the end of these reflexions, need we insist any further on the benefits of a policy of migrant participation, a corollary of any measure of concertation in the area of migration and one of the means enabling the foreign worker to exercise his civil rights? What is really surprising is the limited and excessively experi-

mental character of the policies at present applied when one views them against the background of the system's potentialities, only a part of which seem the have been already put into effect in the initiatives we have described. One of the reasons for this situation is doubtless to be sought in the particular difficulties attaching to a task which has a great deal to do with State prerogatives. But it is to be feared that, in the absence of further advances in the direction identified in this paper, tensions and even more or less serious opposition may arise which will be all the more extreme and all the more difficult to overcome so long as no machinery exists for communication, exchanges of views and concertations between the communities concerned.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Recognition, in law and in fact, of the right of association of immigrant workers and of their right to free expression of their ideas and of their adopted positions. Recognition also of the right to establish federations or any other form of grouping of immigrant associations, both at the local and at the national level, capable of facilitating their representation vis-à-vis the country of origin and the country of employment.

2. International organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, and voluntary agencies should be able to render Governments, the social partners and public opinion more fully alive to the need to establish forms of consultative participation as one of the possible channels for the migrant's exercice of his civil rights.

3. The countries of origin of migrants should consider the possibility of setting up participation and concertation bodies in connexion with their policy in the matter of migration, and so far as possible of doing so at the national and regional levels and at embassies and consulates..

4. These bodies would gain by respecting the autonomy of migrant representation through the migrants' associations and federations. They should in addition adopt for their own use more or less formal but flexible and dynamic rules of operation, while remaining as "wide open" as possible in the matter of competences which should be as extensive and as free of predetermined limitations as possible.

5. The bodies ensuring consultative participation for migrants should be free to adopt heterogeneous and diversified forms of organization suited to the specific situations arising, thereby avoiding any tendency towards hegemony and centralization.

6. Regional and decentralized forms of migrant-worker participation should be promoted that are capable of enabling them to maintain links with their region of origin and of enabling them to be present in the local socio-cultural fabric - the one to which in general they remain most closely attached.

7. Consultative participation in relation to the country of origin should be considered in conjunction with migrant participation in the local and national civic life of the country of employment. These two aspects are interdependent, in the same way as there are mutual implications between the process tending towards preservation of the culture of the migrant's country of origin and the process aimed at integrating the migrant in the society of the host country.

8. Any policy of consultative participation of migrants should aim in the final resort at developing forms of concertation within each of the countries concerned (between the competent authorities, the social partners and the immigrant workers).

9. This policy should also imply very wide and open co-operation between the countries of emigration and the countries of employment.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See D. Maillat - "Rapport relatif aux répercussions sociales et économiques sur les travailleurs migrants des crises et des récessions économiques", *Council of Europe*, Strasbourg, 1975, p. 2, Doc. RS 273(1975) revised.

2. As meant in ILO Convention No. 143 (Article 10), 1975.

3. B. Kayser - "Migrations, croissance et crise en Europe", *Revue du Tiers-Monde*, No 69, 1977, p. 10

4. On the concept of "functional integration" see our article "Migration, classe et ethnie - réflexions sur le processus d'intégration des travailleurs migrants", in: *Actes* du 2ème Congrès de la Société suisse de sociologie, Geneva, 1974, pp. 17-27.

5. "Action Programme for Migrant Workers and Members of their Families", Commission of the European Communities, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 3/76.

6. "Action Programme", op. cit.

7. Quoted by Catherine Wihtol de Wenden - "les immigrés dans la cité - la représentation des immigrés dans la vie publique en Europe", Paris, *la Documentation française*, 1978, p. 19.

8. See: Proceedings of the 12th session of the Conference on local and regional authorities. Report by S. Lundström (Sweden) - "The civil and political rights of migrant workers", *Council of Europe*, Strasbourg, 5 May 1977, doc. CPL (12) 6.

9. See: "Resolutions on migrant workers adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on the proposal of the Special Representative for National Refugees and Surplus Population", *Council of Europe*, Strasbourg, 1976, doc. RS 297(76).

10. Final report, Geneva, 1975.

11. See F. Rigaux - "Aspects juridiques de la participation des immigrés à la vie politique communale dans les plays de la CEE", *Hommes et Migrations*, No 860, 1974, pp. 17-18.

12. On this concept, see J. Widgren - "La chaîne migratoire", OECD, Paris, 1978, p. 5.

13. See: "Implementation of the ILO Programme for Migrant Workers and their Families" ILO Report to the 26th session of the Social Development Commission, January 1979, p. 2. See also "International Migration of Labour and Employment", World Employment Conference, ILO, Geneva, 1976.

14. See, in particular, Convention No. 97 revised, 1949, Convention No. 143, 1975 and Recommendation No. 151, 1975.

15. See "Council Recommendation for a Global Policy on Employment and Labour", OECD, Paris, March 1976, doc. C(76)37.

16. "Migration, Growth and Development", Report of a group of independent experts chaired by Charles Kindleberger, OECD, Paris, 1978, doc. C(78)70.

17. It is well known that the first migrants used to send for their relatives, friends, neighbours, etc., thus reconstituting, in the country of employment, the local solidarities typical of the region of origin.

18. See W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki - "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America", New York, Dover Publications, ed. 1958, pp. 1426-1427.

19. See our article: "Mouvements migratoires, espaces socio-culturels et processus d'acculturation" in: "Les travailleurs étrangers en Europe occidentale" (sous la direction de Philippe J. Bernard), Paris, Mouton. 1976, p. 315.

20. The phrase was coined in a study of the *Centre social protestant de Lausanne:* "Les associations

d'immigrés, plates-formes de représentativité", 1974. As quoted by Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, op. cit., p. 83.

21. See: "Rappresentatività e partecipazione negli organismi di tutela degli emigrati: il caso del CoIE", in : *Conferenza Nazionale dell'Emigrazione*, Rome, Dec. 1974, vol. V, pp. 69-84.

22. "Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana", No 18, 21 April 1972.

23. See, for example, the position adopted on this matter by the "National Council for Economic and Labour Questions" (CNEL) in: *Conferenza Nazionale dell'Emigrazione*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 189-190.

24. See Franco Foschi - "L'Emigrazione italiana oggi". Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, 1978, p. 121.

25. See the Governmental Bill submitted in 1977 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in: ICEM Information Letter on Migrant Adaptation and Integration, No. 5, November 1977.

26. See the position adopted by CNEL, op. cit., in: *"Conferenza Nazionale dell'Emigrazione*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 79-80.

27. See: "Etude sur les attentes et les aspirations des travailleurs migrants en matière d'éducation et de formation": document established by the Italian National Commission for UNESCO for the "Réunion [illegible] le rôle des associations de travailleurs migrants et les activités d'enseignement et de [illegible] des travailleurs migrants et de leurs familles", UNESCO, Paris, July 1977 (doc. ED [illegible] 30/5), p. 35.

28. See: "[illegible]iti delle Regioni e Coordinamento delle Legislazioni Regionali", in: *La Conferenza Nazionale delle Consulte Regionali dell'Emigrazione e delle Regioni*, Senigallia, Oct. 1978.

29. Conferenza Nazionale delle Consulte Regionali dell'Emigrazione e delle Regioni, op . cit., "Le Conclusioni", p. 1.

30. "Jornadas de Estudio", final report. Madrid, 23-26 September 1977, pp. 2-3.

31. "Hoja informativa", No. 6, January 1978, Madrid, IEE.

32. "Hoja informativa", No. 8, February 1978, Madrid, IEE.

33. It should be recalled that Spanish migrants have a strong tendency to cluster in groups according to their region of origin.

34. Provisional version of a project currently under study, dealing with "Democratic participation and management by migrants".

35. See, for example, the "Propuesta de modificación del texto de la Orden circular No. 28" by ATEES (Association of Spanish Workers in Switzerland) Geneva.

The Migrant's Participation in the political Life of his Country of Origin in the Context of his Integration

BY Dr. JOSÉ IGNACIO CASES MÉNDEZ

INTRODUCTION: PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

The participation of citizens in politics is of vital importance in the twentieth century. The exercise of control - however remote - over the government and indirectly also over the legislators (who have themselves a more direct control over the executive branch) is a prerogative of those peoples who have been able to claim for themselves, and to assert, the exercise of sovereignty.

It is accordingly of great interest to examine, both at the national and at the local government level, the conditions that must be fulfilled by those concerned in order to participate in politics. The question, however, arises of whether interest in public affairs is the exclusive privilege of persons having citizen rights. The answer to that question is obviously in the negative, for in all justice the governed in general are concerned in the proper administration of the affairs of state in so far as they all contribute, through the payment of taxes, to shoulder the burden of public expenditure and they are also direct beneficiaries (or sufferers) of government actions.

In our societies, only a few years ago, the citizen body substantially coincided with the body of the governed. With the emergence of migratory movements of considerable size, however, a substantial discrepancy between the two has emerged.

Public law in Western countries (whether of the Roman Law or of the Common Law systems) has ignored this significant and important development. The hardening of structures, and the difficulties experienced in reforming them, point to the advisability of a profound *aggiornamento* which would replace the concept of "the citizens" by that of "the governed", in view of the fact that the latter have a share in all the economic duties and burdens and are therefore entitled to control those who govern them.

This new approach has been endorsed in Recommendation 799 (1977) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which invites "member governments to examine the experience gained by countries which have already granted voting rights to aliens at the level of local authorities, and to consider granting such rights in their own countries to aliens having fulfilled certain residence qualifications".

In the same sense and also in the framework of the Council of Europe, mention should be made of Resolution 93 (1977) of the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, on the extension of civil and political rights to immigrants, which stresses that migrants, by their work, make an important contribution to the economic development and the national wealth of the host country and, moreover through the payment of taxes, support the financing of public services, so that it would be appro-

priate to grant them an adequate right of participation in the decision-making process at the level of local and regional communities. This resolution was endorsed by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in its Recommendation No. 86 (1977).

It must be noted that these are not the first decisions to be taken on this subject. In 1973, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 712 wherein it formulated the wish that the governments of the countries of immigration would grant to "migrant workers after five years the right to vote and to stand for election in municipal affairs, provided they had lived in the municipality concerned for the previous three years" *(1)*.

When, on the other hand, we enter into considerations that are more social than political in character, it is possible to observe at present two very distinct trends in relation to the concern with the integration of migrants. The first trend wants integration to take place in the host society; the second one, on the contrary, focuses its attention on strengthening the links which continue to bind the migrants to the society they have left.

There are, of course, numerous arguments in favour of one or other of these two views, as well as points against. In the framework of the present meeting, with its wide representation of the international community, it is undoubtedly of great interest to examine, and propose, certain conclusions with regard to the second of the two abovementioned propositions. This does not mean - and it is certainly not our intention to suggest - ignoring the first proposition *(2)*. It would seem, however, that the Fourth Seminar is in fact in a position to make a positive contribution with regard to the second, for two reasons of a different order:

(i) *Social.* Despite the support extended by several international bodies to the suggestions for the granting of political rights to migrants (at least at the local government level), these have met with considerable reticence on the part of the governments of countries of immigration; it will accordingly be necessary to seek, if necessary by exploring new channels, legal remedies to enable migrants to maintain their links (from a political point of view) with some society and, if that of the host country is ruled out, the only remaining one that of the home country (country of origin).

(ii) *Methodological.* In previous seminars, ICEM has put forward proposals for the study of possible ways and means of integration in the host country. The reality - albeit sometimes temporary - of migration must be borne in mind; hence the desirability of studying the means of maintaining the migrant's links with his home country. The Third Seminar recognized this when, in its final Conclusions and Recommendations *(3)*, it recommended that "the second aspect (participation of migrants in the political life of the receiving country), and in particular the problem of participation in the home country's elections, be examined in depth at another Seminar".

I would venture to assert that questions relating to migration vary in importance (and hence attract the attention of experts or fail to do so) in accordance with the circumstances which transform the phenomenon of migration in Europe.

Although admittedly European migration (which is medium-term and economic in character) constitutes only a small fraction of total world migration, it is must be acknowledged that it is highly exemplary in character and that it has been the subject of frequent studies in depth by numerous authors in the course of the last few years.

Immigration into European countries began as a movement from other countries of the same continent but later, migrants began to arrive from African countries bordering on the Mediterranean and subsequently from other even more remote countries.

Unlike the trans-Atlantic migration of past centuries and of the first half of the twentieth, this European migration is specifically temporary in character.

It is very rare for a migrant to remain in a country of immigration in Europe for more than fifteen years. He has been impelled to migrate, as a general rule, by the deficient economic capacity of his home country but maintains the hope to return to it when he achieves, at least in part, some measure of economic stability.

This process has been described as the migratory chain and it is complete only when the migrant returns home.

This theme has been studied in earlier seminars, which have made it possible to appreciate that one of the main problems arising is that of the migrant's re-integration in the society of his home country. Expatriation (which, in practice, is not interrupted by the return of the migrant home for holidays) causes not only a physical but also a psychological estrangement from the society where the migrant originates.

The higher levels of living in the host countries, the language differences, the differences in manners and customs, and the political system of the host countries all go to create difficulties for the migrant when he tries to re-insert himself in a society which, for its part, may also have undergone profound changes - as in the case of rapidly developing countries.

In recent years, the numbers of migrants leaving the various countries of emigration have been very large and although in 1979 they appear to be levelling off, they admittedly still remain very impressive.

With regard to the subject of the present paper, the question may well be asked whether it is logical for these migrants - who are due to return to their own countries within a more or less short period of time - to be deprived of the opportunity to participate in the political decision-making processes of their own countries.

Naturally, this question arises only in so far as the decision-making processes in question can be described as free and democratic. As pointed out by Professor *Grimm (4)*, in a democratic régime, the process of election confers the stamp of legitimacy upon the political authorities and introduces some element of control over the exercise of political power; although elections do not make it possible to express very precise views or to defend specific interests, they operate as the pivot of the political life of the country because they provide an opportunity to change the government, while at the same time giving practical importance to public opinion and making social change possible without violence. Accordingly, while it is true to say that the existence of elections is not sufficient proof of democracy, it is also true that there can be no democracy without elections.

It is not only necessary that elections should be held; they must also be held by universal suffrage. Although some things are so obvious that no demonstration is needed, it may not be superfluous to recall the six requirements for a true universal suffrage, as set forth by Professor *Maurice Duverger:*

(i) All citizens must be able to vote.
(ii) All citizens must be allowed to stand for election.
(iii) All citizens must be able to vote freely (without pressure or terror).
(iv) All citizens must be able to vote with sufficient information.
(v) All citizens must be able to cast an authentic vote (i.e. the electoral system must be adequate and honest).
(vi) The candidates elected must be able to exercise the people's sovereign rights *(5)*.

It must, however, be recognized that where voting by absent electors is concerned, difficulties arise which are not only theoretical but also technical in character. In my

view, two conflicting aims must be reconciled in any legislation on the subject: on the one hand, to permit, and indeed facilitate, voting by an absent elector who for weighty and legitimate reasons (and is not migration such a reason?) cannot report to the polling booth in person; on the other hand an election must not only be free: it must be guaranteed to be honest. Voting by mail or by proxy lends itself perhaps more easily to electoral fraud.

In the last resort, the migrant's participation, in the case when his vote is manipulated, does not merit our attention here and now: as stressed in the resolution adopted by the European Ministers responsible for Local Government in their meeting at Stockholm on 7 and 8 September 1978, representative democracy constitutes, both at the national and the municipal level, the very foundation of citizen participation *(5)*.

This participation in the society of the migrant's home country can take place at two very different geographical levels: legislative elections and municipal elections.

It must be noted that the legislation of the various states concerned normally provides for participation in voting of a general character (legislative and presidential elections; referenda) but not for participation in smaller elections, such as those for local government bodies. For this reason, we shall deal first with the regulations applied to the first type of election in a number of democratic countries; in the second place, we give our attention to the newer problem of enabling participation in local government elections.

COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION

General Elections

The main political options of a country are determined through its Parliament. Accordingly, persons who are nationals of a state must not remain aloof from its political life, at least in its broad outlines. This is why, in the great majority of cases, the migrant's right of participation is recognized, although the exercise of this right is made subject to the fulfilment of a number of requirements (physical presence in the territory of the country in the case of Italy; three months' residence in the case of Germany, etc.).

Belgium. The Belgian Electoral Code was enacted by Royal Decree of 12 August 1928 published in the *Moniteur Belge* of 18 August 1928 and a Law of 6 April 1929 published in the *Moniteur* of 28 June 1929. The Law of 8 July 1970 makes provision for voting by mail and by proxy; as a result of electoral fraud incidents, however, these provisions have been since amended; more specifically, the Code's third chapter (consisting of article 147 bis) was amended by the Law of 5 July 1976 which also repealed articles 147 - 3 to 147 - 7 inclusive, that previously formed part of that same chapter.

The said third chapter sets forth rules on the casting of their votes by Belgians who are abroad for professional reasons or because of reasons of service and who are therefore deemed incapable of fulfilling the normal requirements for the casting of their votes. For this case (voting by mail having been abolished), provision is made for voting by proxy, one and the same person being precluded from acting as proxy for more than one absent voter. The absent voter must fill the appropriate official form, which must then be signed by him and by his proxy; the document must specify the election for which it is valid as well as the name and surname, date of birth and address of the elector and of the proxy.

The proxy must hand over to the Chairman of the Electoral Board of the polling station where the absent voter should normally have voted the proxy instrument, the proxy's identity card and the written invitation sent to the voter, on which the Chairman shall arrange to record the fact that voting has taken place by proxy. In addition, the proxy must produce a certificate establishing that the voter is unable to fulfil personally his duty to vote; this certificate must be issued by the appropriate military or civil authority, or by the firm employing the giver of the proxy, but it is no longer required to bear the visa of a Belgian consular or diplomatic authority.

It is up to the elector to contact (personally or through his proxy) the Municipal Secretariat of the locality where he is entitled to vote, for the purpose of obtaining the special proxy form.

Two final points should be clarified:

(i) The new Law makes no provision for members of the liberal professions and the self-employed (Except for bargees and traders at public fairs).

(ii) Only a person registered on the voters' register of a particular municipality is entitled to vote; accordingly, persons removed from the Belgian population registers by reason of transfer of residence abroad are similarly dropped from the voters' register.

France. French citizens living abroad can exercise their right to vote either by proxy or by voting personally *(7)* at voting centres established at their places of residence.

Voting by proxy. This is possible under the provisions of item 5 of article 271 of the Electoral Code, as amended by Law No. 75-1329 of 31 December 1975 (published in the *Journal officiel* of 3 January 1976) which abolished voting by mail. Instructions setting forth the manner of exercising the right to vote by proxy are contained in Ministerial Circular No. 76-28 of 23 January 1976 of the Ministry of the Interior, brought up to date in February 1977.

The general rules set forth in this Law authorize voting by proxy for electors whose duties, as duly established, keep them outside the territory of the municipality in whose voting list they are registered. These include French citizens living outside France but they must have been registered in a voters' list as residents in France (such registration was made voluntary by the Law of 31 December 1975).

In order to render this registration easier, Law No. 77-805 of 19 July 1977 was promulgated which purports to facilitate voting by French nationals living outside France (Law published in the *Journal officiel* of 20 July 1977). This Law amends article L.12 of the Electoral Law by repealing its last paragraph and replacing it by new provisions whereunder a French citizen living abroad is allowed to choose the municipality where he wishes to register, provided it has over 30,000 inhabitants. At each municipality of this size, however, the number of registered voters of this category (residents abroad) may not exceed 2 per cent of the total of other voters on the same list. (If a locality is sub-divided into several constituencies for election purposes, the above-mentioned limit of 2 per cent applies to each constituency separately.)

Law No. 77-805 also amended article L.73 of the Electoral Code so as to increase to 5 the upper limit of the number of proxies that a single person may hold; of these, however, only two may be given by electors resident in French territory.

The designation of a proxy can be effected by an elector without charge by appearing before a magistrate or a duly authorized police officer; this formality may even be carried out at his own dwelling if the elector is unable to move.

On the occasion of the meeting of the Higher Council of French Nationals Living Abroad on 7 October 1978, the Director of Administrative and Consular Affairs, Mr.

Claude Chavet, reported that, in the March 1978 elections, the legal limit of 2 per cent of the total register had not been reached in any constituency and that 153,700 French nationals living abroad had voted, i.e. approximately one-tenth of the total number of French nationals abroad (see newspaper *Le Monde* of 10 October 1978). As at 1 January 1978, 972,871 French nationals had been counted as living abroad and there were in addition an estimated 300,000 still uncounted.

Voting in person by residents abroad has been authorized for presidential elections and referenda under the following legislation:

(i) Organic Law No. 76-97 of 31 January 1976 on voting by French nationals established outside France in an election for the President of the Republic (published in the *Journal officiel* of 1 February 1976).

(ii) Decree No. 76-950 of 14 October 1976 implementing Organic Law No. 76-97 of 31 January 1976 (published in the *Journal officiel* of 22 October 1976).

(iii) Organic Law No. 77-820 of 21 July 1977 supplementing article 5 of Organic Law No. 76-97 of 31 January 1976 (published in the *Journal officiel* of 22 July 1977).

(iv) Ordinance of 17 September 1977 relating to the amount of the allowances of the members of the electoral boards set up in the framework of the participation of French nationals abroad in the election of the President of the Republic (published in the *Journal officiel* of 17/18 October 1977).

The voting centres abroad - created with the consent of the host states concerned - are set up in French embassies or consulates whose territorial coverage has been defined.

Registration in a list is voluntary and is open to all French citizens entitled to vote and resident in the territory covered by the voting centre concerned.

No one may be registered in more than one list of this kind but the same voter may be registered in the voters' list of a municipality in France and in the list of a voting centre abroad; in this case, the voter may not cast his vote in France.

Lastly, it must be stressed that this legislation prohibits political propaganda abroad except for the mailing in sealed envelopes of circulairs and voting papers and the exposition of the various electoral programmes within the premises of French embassies or consulates.

In these voting centres, it is also possible to vote by proxy but subject to slightly different regulations from those governing the case previously referred to; the rules applicable are more stringent.

Italy. Voting by mail or by proxy is not allowed for Italians who have emigrated abroad. This is due both to technical reasons and to political considerations: the latter include the fear that Italian migrants abroad will vote massively for the Left-wing parties and the former the suspicion that the results - or even the actual process of voting - can be manipulated.

For these reasons, a peculiar solution has been adopted: the Italian State facilitates the migrant's travel from his place of residence abroad to the constituency in Italy where he is due to vote, by giving him certain financial benefits: for example, he gets a second class return ticket free of charge if he travels by rail; if he travels by sea, he is carried free of charge in the cheapest class of travel in any ship of an Italian shipping company. It should be noted that the Italian State pays these trips (in whole or in part) only when Italian carriers are used and that these facilities also apply to movements within Italy.

Of course, these benefits are extended only within certain specified dates and the

beneficiary must prove that he has voted.

The legislation in force on the subject is contained in the single text of 20 March 1967, No. 233, together with the measures set forth in Decree No. 136 of the Presidency of the Republic of 31 January 1958 and in ISTAT Circular No. 12 of 21 February 1969.

Italians resident abroad are registered in a special civil register. Six years after registration the entry in the voters' list is cancelled unless the Italian citizen concerned explicitly requests its being made permanent or explicitly applies for re-registration.

This explains why (apart from the cost of the trip) only just over 120,000 Italians living abroad returned to participate in the last election.

On 18 January 1979 the Chamber of Deputies gave its final approval to the proposed Law on the elections to the European Parliament but the text of the Law has not yet been published at the time of writing the present report. Whereas so far Italian migrants had only been able to vote by returning to Italy for the purpose, for the elections to the European Parliament migrants living in any of the member countries of the European Economic Community will be able to vote at their place of residence. Other migrants (Italians in Switzerland, Africa, Asia, Australia, etc.) will only be able to vote by returning to Italy.

Electoral boards will be organized at the Italian diplomatic and consular offices in the various member countries of the European Economic Community but difficulties of accommodation are likely to arise (so much so that the Italian Government is thinking of asking the other members of the European Economic Community to make their own polling stations available to the Italian voter on a day different from the one on which their own nationals will vote); difficulties will also arise with regard to propaganda and to the protection of individual rights. The whole subject will be covered by bilateral agreements still to be concluded between Italy and each of the various member states of the Community.

Luxembourg. The Luxembourg Electoral Law of 31 July 1924 makes no provision for voting abroad. This notwithstanding, voting is compulsory for all nationals. In practice, however, the legal penalties for failure to vote are not enforced in the case of Luxembourg nationals resident abroad; this is based on the reasoning that, on grounds of *force majeure*, they are exonerated from their obligations in the matter.

Netherlands. The Netherlands Electoral Law of 13 July 1951 confers the right to vote only upon Netherlands citizens over the age of 18 who reside in the Netherlands on polling day. Consequently, a Netherlands citizen permanently resident abroad has no right to vote because such a resident cannot keep his domicile in the Netherlands. There was an important change on 5 March 1977 when it was established that Netherlands officials - and their spouses if of Netherlands nationality - who are abroad in the Government's service, are entitled to vote for the election of members of the Lower Chamber of the States General (Dutch Parliament); this facility is ruled out as far as elections to other bodies are concerned *(8)*.

The only exception to these rules is that which relates to the case of citizens resident in the Netherlands who find themselves accidentally abroad and who are authorized to vote by proxy.

Portugal. The Portuguese Electoral Law of 15 November 1974, enacted immediately after the overthrow of the Salazar régime, used to grant the right to vote to Portuguese

migrants abroad subject to compliance with the following two requirements:
(i) To have a spouse, and/or a child or children below the age of 18, who is habitually resident in Portuguese territory or who has left that territory five years or less prior to the publication of the above-mentioned Electoral Law.
(ii) To be accidentally present in Portuguese territory six months prior to the date of the election. Portuguese nationals resident abroad (two or three million) were treated as one single constituency for purpose of the election to the Constituent Assembly of the Portuguese Republic; for the 1976 elections to the legislative Assembly of the Republic, however, two constituencies were organized - one for Portuguese nationals abroad in Europe and another for those elsewhere in the world *(9)*.

In the April 1976 elections, 57,341 Portuguese nationals abroad in Europe were registered as voters. Of these, 90.15 per cent - or 51, 693 - actually cast their votes. For those resident outside Europe, registration was 48,368 and polling 40,047 or 82,79 per cent of the registered voters *(10)*.

The legislation at present applicable to voting and registration is contained in Law No. 69/78 published in the *Diário de República* of 3 November 1978. This is possibly the most modern legislation in the matter, chronologically at least. Registration of voters is compulsory but for Portuguese citizens abroad it is voluntary (art. 6). The geographical unit for registration is the consular district, or the whole territory of the foreign country concerned if it is served only by a Portuguese embassy (art. 9).

Career consuls are responsible for registering votes; in countries where there are no Portuguese consulates, this task shall devolve upon the Portuguese Ambassador, assisted by a delegate by each of the various political parties represented in the Portuguese Parliament (art. 11).

This indicates (and so do other provisions of the same Electoral Law) that the political parties have an important role to play (cooperation and control) in the matter.

Upon registering in the voters' list, each elector shall be issued with an elector's identification booklet (art. 24).

An elector abroad who changes his place of residence is under a duty to apply for the removal of his name from the voters' list of his former place of residence, regardless of whether he has registered at his new place of residence or not (art. 27).

Subsequent to this Law and in order to facilitate the census of Portuguese nationals abroad, Law No. 72178 of 28 December 1978 was promulgated (see *Diário da República* of 28 December 1978) authorizing the opening of census offices staffed by representatives of the various political parties represented in Parliament, and allowing 60 days for registration of voters instead of the 30 days' time-limit laid down for citizens residing in metropolitan Portugal.

United Kingdom. The representation of the People Act 1969 confers the right to vote upon all British and Irish nationals residing in the United Kindom from the age of 18 years and included in the electoral register, for which purpose it is necessary to be present when the census - which is periodical in character - is carried out *(11)*.

As to the votes of migrants, the above-mentioned Act specifies that the only British nationals not residing in the United Kingdom who are entitled to register as voters are Crown officers (embassy or consular staff, etc.), members of the Armed Forces, and employees of the British Council as well as the spouses of any of the foregoing living with them abroad.

British subjects included in the voters' register but temporarily abroad for business reasons can vote by proxy if unable to return in time for polling day: those who are on

holiday outside their place of residence cannot vote.

To sum up: British subjects living permanently abroad, except for the abovementioned servants of the Crown, are not entitled to register as voters and hence to vote; in other words, British migrants have no right to participate in their country's elections in whatever form.

Federal Republic of Germany. The electoral legislation applicable in these matters is the Federal Electoral Law (BWG) of 1 September 1975 (published in Federal Official Bulletin I, pp. 2325 and 55) and the Federal Electoral Regulations (BWO) of 3 September 1975 (published in Federal Official Bulletin I, p. 2384).

Voting by mail is authorized provided the citizen concerned is registered in a voters' list, for which purpose it is necessary to reside in the Federal Republic of Germany. The decisive criteria to establish such residence, following the amendment of the Federal Electoral Law of 24 June 1975 (see Federal Official Bulletin I, p. 1593), are based not on the fact that the elector concerned has his domicile in the electoral district in question but rather that he has therein a dwelling which has been duly recorded in an electoral census, which he occupies and which will be actually utilized. On this basis, therefore, a citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany who has lived a number of years abroad (which implies that he is not using his dwelling in the Republic) loses his right to vote - a right which he will recover only when he returns to his country and resides there for three months immediately prior to polling day. (There are special provisions for West Berlin). Although the foregoing remarks are valid in broad outline, it is nonetheless possible to draw a distinction between the following two cases:

(i) German electors living outside the Federal Republic of Germany but having their dwelling in the territory of the Republic (article 12, para, 1, No. 2, of the Federal Electoral Law).

Article 14 of the Federal Electoral Law lays down, as a *sine qua non* condition for the exercise of the right to vote, the requirement of registration in the voters' list - or alternatively the holding of an elector's card. This document is issued on application by the elector only in the case where, for imperative reasons, he will be absent from his constituency on polling day (art, 22, para. 1, No. 1, of the Federal Electoral Regulations). The application in question must be made to the competent Elections Board of the municipality of the Federal territory in which the elector has been registered in the voters' list (art. 23 of the Federal Electoral Law).

All German electors on register are, as a matter of course, notified by the competent municipal authority of the holding of an election; an application form is attached to this notification for the issuance of an elector's card and for the mailing of documentation on the election.

(ii) German electors living outside the Federal Republic of Germany but having no dwelling in the territory of the Republic.

This group of persons includes *inter alia:*

- The staff of diplomatic and consular missions, as well as of the office of the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany in the German Democratic Republic, together with members of their households.
- Electors within the meaning of article 12, para. 2, of the Federal Electoral Law who have their dwelling or habitual residence in the vicinity of the frontier of the Federal Republic, as well as members of their households, to the exclusion of the group of persons covered by section (i) above.
- Sailors who are nationals of the Federal Republic.

Registration in the voters' list of the competent municipal authority is a *sine qua non* requirement for the exercise of the right to vote by the elector whose application must be made at the latest on the day on which the voters' register is opened.

The competent municipal authorities for these persons are:

- The authorities of the municipality of the location of the highest-ranking authority of the department concerned, in the case of an elector who is a member of the civil service.
- A neighbouring municipal authority in the Federal Republic in the case of inhabitants of frontier areas.
- In the case of seamen, the municipal authorities competent for the ship operators employing them (art. 15, para. 9-2 of the Regulations for Federal Elections); as far as members of their families are concerned, the municipal authority of the locality where they have their dwelling (art. 16, para. 3, of the Regulations for Federal Elections); if the last dwelling of members of a sailor's family was situated in the *Land* of West Berlin or outside the area of application of the Federal Electoral Law, the application for registration as a voter must be made to the municipal authorities of Hamburg. Sailors - as well as members of their families - must produce to the municipal authority concerned satisfactory evidence of their entitlement to belong to the group of persons authorized to vote in this manner (art. 16, para. 6, of the Federal Electoral Regulations).

Switzerland. The Swiss Federal Law on the Political Rights of Swiss Citizens Abroad of 19 December 1975 lays down, in its Article 1, the guiding principle of this Law to the effect that Swiss citizens abroad can only exercise their political rights in Switzerland itself, the term "Swiss citizen abroad" being construed to mean a Swiss citizen having no domicile in Switzerland and duly registered with a Swiss diplomatic mission.

A Swiss citizen abroad who wishes to exercise his political rights must apply, through the Swiss diplomatic representative in his country of residence, to his municipality of origin or last domicile in Switzerland for his registration in the voters' list (art. 5).

Swiss citizens abroad must apply in person for the necessary voting papers to the electoral census office (art. 6 of the Regulations on the Political Rights of Swiss Citizens Abroad of 15 August 1976).

The right to vote can be exercised either at the electoral census office or at the polling station on the specified date; it is also possible to vote by mail (but always within Swiss territory).

Swiss law provides for one exception to the strict application of the principle that the right to vote must be exercised within the confines of Swiss territory, an exception which is not subject to the rule of reciprocity: officials and employees of the Swiss Confederation on duty abroad may vote by mail from a foreign country (art. 9 of the above-mentioned Federal Law and art. 12 of the above-mentioned Regulations).

Local Government Elections

The representation of migrants at the local government level in their home country is a much more controversial issue, as shown by the legal writings on the subject. It must be recognized that questions relating to local government, whether in the host country or in the home country, have become especially topical. As far as the position in host countries is concerned (on which it will be found useful to consult the report mentioned in Mr. Sica's note No. 2), the Council of Europe, for example, recently convened a meeting of the Conference of European Ministers responsible for local communities.

At this meeting, the Swedish Minister for Local Government Affairs, Mr. *Johannes Antonsson*, stressed the need to provide greater opportunities for participation by groups who have not taken part hitherto in municipal activities. The main concern must be the position of migrants *(12)*.

In practice, with the exception of Sweden *(13)*, no country confers upon aliens the right to vote in a general way *(14)*. This means that migrants, if they are barred from voting in their municipality of origin, will be deprived of one of the basic political rights of a free citizen: access to representative democracy at the local government level, i.e. the area of government in which the contact between the rulers and the governed is most direct.

There is no doubt that distance (in time and in space) renders less acute the differences between the various political options which emerge in any election and this phenomenon is much more marked in local government elections than in other elections. On the other hand, it must be recognized that voters are apt to lose interest more easily in this type of election.

In my view, however, it is necessary to consider two questions in this matter:

(i) The possiblity - always on the assumption that migration is of a temporary character - that a migrant may still have certain financial interests in his home municipality which it is necessary to protect (house, business, etc).

(ii) The possibility of granting migrants the right to vote by renewing their ties with their community of origin, so that they can take part in shaping the decisions to be taken on the various options open with regard to the determination of what constitutes the general interest *(15)*.

THE CASE OF SPAIN

The ending of the personal and autocratic régime of General *Franco* (1939-1975) and its replacement by a constitutional and parliamentary monarchy *(16)* brought representative government to all Spanish citizens, who have since been called to the polls on unusually frequent occasions. The principle of democratic representation, which was already acknowledged in the Law on Political Reform of 4 January 1977, has been finally enshrined in article 14 of the Spanish Constitution of 29 December 1978 whereby "all Spaniards are equal in the eyes of the law and there can be no discrimination of any kind on grounds of birth, race, sex, religion, opinion or any other condition or circumstance, whether of a personal or of a social character". This text brings up to date the French traditional principle of 1789 "All men are born and remain free and have the same rights. Social distinctions can only be made on the basis of greater or lesser usefulness to the community" - a principle which has been generally accepted *(17)* by Western democracies.

Accordingly, the fact that a person is a migrant - a condition which in a sense always results from pressure of circumstances - cannot be a valid basis for discrimination. This is why the principle of equality before the law is stressed in article 42 of the Spanish Constitution whereby "the State shall ensure the protection of the economic and social rights of Spanish workers abroad and shall adopt policies oriented towards the return home of these workers". This is of course primarily a declaration of principle (because the fulfilment of the objectives therein set largely depends on the will of other states) but it nevertheless represents a formal recognition of certain rights the political aspect of which are more specifically endorsed in the provisions of article 68,5, para. 2, which adopts a progressive approach by specifying that "The law shall recognize,

and the State authorities shall facilitate the exercise of the right to vote for Spaniards who are outside the territory of Spain".

This right to political participation enshrined in the Constitution has been granted for a number of reasons (it has already been pointed out that legal opinion finds acceptable the participation by migrants in national legislative elections but that the issue with regard to local government elections is more difficult and controversial).

In order to put this in practice, however, it is necessary to have first an adequate instrument in the form of a voters' register.

The voters' register

In Spain, the status of resident is acquired after a lapse of two years. Accordingly, *a contrario sensu*, when a person has lived outside his former place of residence for over two years the local authority may proceed to strike him off the list of inhabitants of the municipality, with the inherent consequences which include that of barring the person concerned from registration as a voter.

For this reason and in order to provide an administrative procedure to enable migrants to express their views by exercising the right to vote in ballots of all kinds (referenda, elections) Royal Decree No. 3341/1977 of 31 December 1977 ordered that a special electoral register should be prepared of Spaniards over the age of 17 who were absent from their place of residence because they lived abroad (see Spanish Official Bulletin of 3 January 1978).

I must admit that the very designation is somewhat paradoxical. I believe that the intention of the framers of the law was to stress the specificity and the singularity of this registration which only covers those Spanish migrants who voluntarily register on it *(18)*.

The first difference with ordinary registration is that the latter is mandatory and is automatically effected by the competent authorities. Special registration of Spanish migrants abroad, on the other hand, takes place only at the request of the party concerned.

The second point to be noted is that the scheme is based on the legal fiction of considering an absentee as still present for political purposes if he so wishes. For this purpose, it is necessary that he should be living abroad. If an elector were to be allowed to vote from another municipality in Spain itself, he would necessarily have to be registered in the voters' register of that municipality - a fact which would consequently lead to duplication in registration. Accordingly, registration on the special register implies that the voter's name is struck off the ordinary register.

Naturally, the address of a migrant as indicated in the special register is that of his residence abroad and all communications must be sent to that address (we may repeat here that, for purposes of political participation exclusively, there is the legal fiction of ascribing him to a particular municipality).

This process of ascribing a migrant to a municipality is not an arbitrary one: he is allowed to choose between the municipality of his last residence in Spain and that of his birth. In the case of a Spaniard born abroad and who has never resided in Spain, the law specifies that he shall be registered in the municipality where his parents last resided or where his parents or his direct ascendants were born.

This electoral provision, which is clearly intended to serve the aims of integration, faces two main obstacles: the first of these is alien to the law itself and results from the adoption of a foreign nationality by a Spaniard - a very frequent occurrence in

countries with a clear policy of integration of migrants (Spanish-American countries, Sweden, France, etc.). Until the Promulgation of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the acquisition of a foreign nationality implied (except in cases covered by a Dual Nationality Treaty) the disclaimer of Spanish nationality; this provision has now been dropped *(19)*.

The second obstacle is of a practical kind and is derived from the bureaucratic steps that have to be taken: checking whether the migrant's name is - or is not - entered in the register; obtaining the voting papers, casting the vote, etc. The difficulties involved are compounded by the geographical distance.

Bearing in mind what has been said so far, the Special Register contained, as at 31 December 1977, the names of 145,313 electors over the age of 21 and 7,179 who were over the age of 17 but below the age of 21 (Review operations as at 31 December 1978 were in progress at the time of writing the present report).

Naturally, the number of electors who actually vote in elections is much less: the percentage of participation is lower than that of registration. Data obtained from the special sections of Madrid municipality for the legislative elections of 1 March 1979 show that approximately 28 per cent of those registered actually voted (the average for the whole of Spain was 68 per cent). In the Constitutional Referendum of 6 December 1978, perhaps because the result was a foregone conclusion or because the voting machinery was less well-known, participation by migrants was even somewhat lower: it hovered around 20 per cent, compared to a national average participation of 67.1 per cent *(20)*.

Legislation on legislative elections and referenda

Election of 15 June 1977. Royal Legislative Decree No. 20/1977 of 18 March 1977 setting forth the rules governing elections, specifies that all Spaniards on the Register who have the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights, are entitled to vote (art. 2).

Voting by mail was allowed (art. 57) but many migrants may well have voted using the ordinary procedure, since at that time there was no special register for them. Naturally, since the votes cast by mail by Spaniards living abroad were mingled with those cast by mail by Spaniards residing in Spain who opted for this method of voting for some reason or another, it is not possible to determine the rate of participation of the migrants.

Constitutional referendum of 6 December 1978. This referendum was organized in order to submit to the nation the draft constitution approved by the *Cortes Generales* (Parliament) and was the subject of special legislation which amended to some extent the laws in force until then, so as to authorize exceptionally voting by mail, for the sole purpose of enabling Spanish migrants in Switzerland to participate *(21)*.

Parliamentary elections of 1 March 1978. Upon the approval of the Constitution, the *Cortes Generales* were dissolved and elections for Parliament were thereupon organized. Since transitional provision No. 8 renders constitutional the electoral system of 18 March 1977, the Government, despite the fact that its intentions were different (and its views were shared by the opposition parties), was unable to permit voting by proxy because this system was not envisaged in the above-mentioned legislation. The paradoxical result has thus been that while Spanish migrants have been able to vote

normally, those migrants living in Switzerland have been prevented from doing so.

Legislation governing local government elections

Under the provisions of article 6, para. 1, of Law No. 39/1978 of 17 July 1978 on local government elections, all Spanish citizens over the age of 18 are entitled to vote provided that they are registered in the register of the appropriate municipality and that they enjoy the full use of their civil and political rights.

By virtue of the final third provision, the following persons are entitled to vote and can exercise their rights in two different ways:

(i) If they are registered in the ordinary register:
- In person;
- By mail.

(ii) If they are registered in the special register of Spanish residents who are absent abroad:
- In person, if present in the municipality of registration on polling day;
- By mail (since they will have received as a matter of course the appropriate documentation as provided for by Royal Decree No. 80/1979 of 5 January 1979;
- By proxy, if the laws of the country of residence of the migrant prohibit voting by mail (Law No. 39/1978 of 17 July 1978, Final Provision 3 (d), and Royal Decree No. 80/1979 of 5 January 1979, art. 4).

As can be seen from the paragraphs preceding immediately those dealing with the specific case of Spain, I fully realize that the question of granting to Spanish migrants the right to vote in local government elections is one which lends itself to the formulation of reservations. In the face of these reservations, I would like to put forward the following considerations:

(a) This right has been granted as a subsidiary measure, since as a general rule migrants do not enjoy political voting rights in the host countries.

(b) The forthcoming elections to the European Parliament in Juni 1979 will open a breach in the hitherto impermeable national barriers and lead to an increasingly frequent recognition of rights of this order (See the above comments in the case of Italy).

(c) The Constitution of Spain, in its article 13,2 makes provision for the active right to vote in municipal elections on the part of aliens resident in Spanish territory, subject to reciprocity *(22)*. So long as this reciprocity does not become general, it would be unthinkable to fail to give the right to vote in municipal elections to our own nationals.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

1. Despite the urgings of a number of international bodies, states continue to be reluctant to grant to aliens the right to vote, even at the local government level.

2. The legal and political aspects of this question are completely separate: the fact that a migrant is obliged to contribute to public funds through the payment of taxes is quite immaterial: he has no legal standing to claim a right of control over the proper

use of his contributions.

3. "The rule applied in the matter is one which is not absolutely self-evident from the strictly logical point of view, but one which in fact enshrines in legal terms the very concept of the Nation, while constituting a factor of political security for the States it is the rule that the enjoyment of the right to vote is linked with the possession of the nationality of the country concerned' *(23)*.

4. The denial to migrants of a right like the vote is primarily due to a clear political reason: the fear of profound changes in election results. The study of the only large-scale experiment so far made in the matter (in Sweden), however, demonstrates that this fear is unfounded.

5. A survey of the legislation of a number of Western European countries reveals several distinct trends with regard to the question of participation by absentees - through their votes - in the taking of political decisions of some importance in their own countries. These trends can be summarized as follows:

(a) Countries which permit the exercise of the right to vote subject to prior registration (in a special or ordinary register): France and Portugal.

(b) Countries which permit the exercise of the right to vote but require not only registration in the voters' register but also the physical presence in their territory of the voter on polling day: Switzerland and Italy.

(c) Countries which (subject to certain clearly-specified exceptions) deny the right to vote to their nationals who are permanently resident abroad: Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands and United Kingdom.

6. The difficulties experienced by migrants in participating in elections held in their home countries (where these countries grant migrants the right to vote) are attributable to the poor information and to the defective functioning of the electoral machinery.

Recommendations

1. To urge the governments concerned to adopt, at the forthcoming Conference of European Ministers responsible for Local Government Bodies to be held in Madrid in 1980 under the auspices of the Council of Europe, final and positive measures to facilitate the participation by migrants in the functioning of the representative system at the local level.

2. To promote the conclusion of bilateral agreements between the states concerned to allow respective citizens residing abroad, on a basis of reciprocity, to vote for the election of their representatives at the local government level.

3. To urge the governments of the countries of emigration to facilitate the participation in political life by their citizens who have migrated abroad by granting to them the right to vote without bureaucratic hindrances.

NOTES

1. See Conference of European Ministers responsible for Local Government, *Participation of citizens and development of local democracy. General situation of the local and regional authorities in Europe*, Strasbourg, 1978, p. 29 (French version).

2. See Mario Sica, *Involvement of the migrant worker in local political life in the host country.* ICEM, Third Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants, Geneva, 9-12 May 1977, Doc. MC/SAI/III/5

3. Doc. MC/SAI/III/GEN/4, p. 16.

4. Les modes de scrutin en Allemagne (Polling procedures in Germany) in: Journées Internationales d'Etudes Comparatives (International Meeting of Comparative Studies), Paris, University No. 2, 7 and 8 January 1977, p. 1.

5. Sufragio Universal y Democracia (Universal Suffrage and Democracy) in *Ley Electoral y Consecuencias Políticas* (Electoral Legislation and Political Consequences), Madrid, CITEP, 1977, pp. 127-146. On this subject, the reader will find it useful to consult McKenzie's book *"Free Elections"* published in London by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

6. Conference of European Ministers responsible for Local Government, Stockholm, 1978. Conclusions of the Conference, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1978. CME/Loc (78) 3.

7. Prior to 1976, when it was possible to vote by mail and by proxy, it was estimated that these methods of voting were used by 1 per cent of the total registered electorate. See Jean Charlot, *Rapport sur les modes de scrutin en France depuis 1945* (Report on polling systems in France since 1945). Mimeographed report submitted to the Journées Internationales d'Etudes Comparatives (7-8 January 1977). Paris, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (French National Foundation for Political Science).

8. The members of the Upper House are not chosen by direct elections but through the Provincial States.

9. See Jorge Gaspar, *"Les elections portugaises 1975-1976"* (Portuguese elections 1975-1976) in: Journées Internationales d'Etudes Comparatives, Paris, University No. 2, 7-8 January 1977, p. 5.

10. See Gonzáles Hernández: *"El proceso electoral portugués. Análisis cuantitativo del comportamiento político (1975/1976)"* (The Portuguese electoral process. Quantitative analysis of Portuguese political behaviour during 1975-1976) in *Revista Española de la Opinión Pública* (Spanish Public Opinion Review), No. 48, April-June 1977, Madrid, Instituto de la Opinión Publica, pp. 205-270.

11. The reader will find it most useful to consult P. Gray and F. Gec, *Electoral Registration for Parliamentary Elections*, 1976, Her majesty's Stationery Office (H.M.S.O.), London.

12. CME/Loc (78) 1, p. 5.

13. On the Swedish experiment, see the study by Dr. Tomas Hammar: *The first immigrant election*, ICEM, Third Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants, Geneva, 9-12 May 1977, Doc. MC/SAI/III/6.

14. "The experiment made of the Swiss Canton of Neuchâtel cannot be compared with that of Sweden, because a ten-year residence period is necessary for a migrant to be entitled to vote in Neuchâtel. After such a long stay, a migrant will have become closely assimilated linguistically and socially to the local community. As a general rule, participation in local elections will then be the effect of the migrant's integration which will already have taken place rather than a device to bring about that integration. In this perspective, it should be stressed that, in the Canton of Neuchâtel, the right to vote extended to aliens has never enabled them to make known their problems and their specific point of view". Council of Europe, *Information et Communication concernant la vie de la cité* (Information and Communication concerning the life of the town). A comparative report. Strasbourg, 1978, Doc. AM-SI(78) 38, p. 15.

15. At the meetings of the Seminar, I hope to be able to give more practical details on the results of, and migrants' participation in, the Spanish municipal elections to be held on 3 April 1979, i.e. between the writing of the present report and the date of opening of the Seminar.

16. On this point, there is an abundant bibliography which can be consulted. To mention the most

recent publication, the French review *Pouvoirs* (Powers), Paris, P.U.F. has devoted its March 1979 issue (No. 9) to the study *'L'Espagne démocratique'* (Democratic Spain).

17. See, for example, art. 6 of the Belgian Constitution, art. 11 of the Constitution of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, art. 3 of the Constitution of Italy, art. 3 of the Fundamental Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, arts. 2 and 77 of the Constitution of the French Republic and art. 13 of the Portuguese Constitution.

18. Significant points of similarity will be observed with the so-called AIRE in Italy.

19. Art. 11,3 of the Constitution reads: 'The State may conclude Treaties on Dual Nationality with Ibero-American countries and with other countries which have, or have had, some special connexion with Spain. In any of the foregoing countries, even if they do not grant a reciprocal right to their own nationals, *Spanish nationals* may become naturalized without losing their Spanish nationality of origin'.

20. See J. I. Cases *'Resultados y abstención en el Referendum Español de 1978'* (Results of, and abstention in, the Spanish Referendum of 1978) in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (Political Studies Review), Issue No. 6 (new series), November-December 1978, Madrid, pp. 175-204.

21. On the occasion of the Parliamentary elections in 1977, the Swiss authorities made it known that they would not permit on their territory the exercise of the right to vote by mail, on the grounds that such exercise would conflict with the sovereignity of the Swiss State. The practical reason, however, is given in the Message sent on 3 March 1975 by the Federal Council (Executive branch of the Swiss Government) to the Federal Assembly (Swiss Parliament) in which it was pointed out that Switzerland is a very small country with a foreign population which included (at that time) 500,000 Italians and 100,000 Spaniards; it was accordingly suggested that any voting operation by those large communities for elections in their home countries, bearing in mind the propaganda activities that would take place in connexion with them, could well have an impact on the life of Switzerland and of the Swiss people themselves and might even involve danger to public order. This principle has been maintained in the new draft law on aliens in Switzerland.

22. The text of art. 13,2 reads: Spanish nationals shall alone be entitled to the rights set forth in art. 23, except for any provisions which may be enacted, on a basis of reciprocity, under a treaty or by legislation, regarding the active right to vote in municipal elections'. Art. 23 reads:

'1. All Spanish citizens have the right to participate in public affairs, either directly or through their representatives freely elected by universal suffrage in periodic elections.

2. They shall have likewise the right of access on equal terms to public office and employment subject to the requirements specified by law'.

23. This inspired formulation is taken from the book by A. and F. Demichel *'Droit électoral'* (Electoral law), Paris, Dalloz, 1973, p. 38.

Participation of Migrants in the political Life of their Country of Origin in the Context of their Adaptation (with special Consideration of the Situation in Turkey)

BY DR. HUSEYIN PEKIN

INTRODUCTION

Participation of the migrants in the political life of their country of origin plays an important role in their lives. It is a primary instrument in maintaining the links with the home country. At the same time it influences the process of the migrant's adaptation and integration in the receiving country. It gives the migrant the feeling that although living abroad in a foreign country he still belongs to the political community of his country of origin.

In democratic systems there exist various forms of political participation. Citizens can join political parties, professional associations, trade-unions and various other interest groups which, to a varying extent, play a considerable role in building the public opinion in a country. Another fundamental aspect of political participation is taking part in general elections. This right is normally guaranteed to all adult citizens of a democratic country.

In Turkey, however, as in several other countries, the right to take part in general elections is restricted to those citizens living in the country or at least present on the election day. The right to vote is thus denied to Turkish citizens who reside abroad. Nevertheless, in recent years it has been increasingly recognized that Turkish workers living abroad should be given the possibility to take part in general elections.

The matter was raised in the Turkish Parliament for the first time in 1965. But so far no change has been adopted in the National Electoral Law. A special Sub-Committee was recently set up in the Parliament to examine in detail the possibility of granting Turkish migrant workers living abroad participation in national elections. This special Parliamentarian Sub-Committee consulted several experts on the matter and requested, among other things, a report from the author of this paper. On the basis of the advice received from the experts, a White Paper entitled 'Participation of Turkish migrant workers in national elections' was prepared by the Sub-Committee and it is expected that a Bill will be introduced in Parliament, which would provide all Turkish migrant workers living abroad with the possibility of taking part in general elections.

Granting the right to vote to the over one million Turkish citizens residing abroad as migrant workers is likely to have a considerable impact on the elections and on the composition of the General Assembly. This is all the more true as in recent years the Parliamentary majority in Turkey has been very weak. Granting the right to vote to migrant workers thus does not only affect the personal rights and freedom of a few individual migrants but also has an overall influence on the sound functioning of the

224

democratic system in Turkey. It puts the Turkish migrant workers working and living abroad on an equal footing with the Turkish citizens living in the country.

VOTING PROCEDURES

The main problem in granting political participation to Turkish migrant workers is the voting procedures to be adopted. The question has to be considered in the light of the existing Turkish electoral Law which excludes Turkish citizens living abroad from general elections and the project to lower the minimum age required for participating in elections from 21 to 18 years.

As concerns voting procedures, the following three possibilities are at present under consideration in Turkey:

Voting by correspondence

The procedure of voting by correspondence enables citizens residing abroad to take part in general elections by requesting ballot papers from the national authorities and/or consulates to be sent to their private address in the country of residence. Citizens living abroad, once the voting papers received, fill them in at home and send them – in a sealed envelope – either to the Consulate or to the voting office in their country of origin from which they received the voting papers. As an example, American citizens residing abroad can take part in general elections by procuring the envelopes and voting papers from their respective consulates. The Spanish Law No. 3341, adopted in 1977, also authorizes Spanish citizens residing abroad to vote by correspondence in general elections, including referendums. However, the citizens concerned must be registered in advance on the electoral list of a Spanish municipality.

The main disadvantage of the systems of voting by correspondence is that there is no guarantee that the ballot paper was actually filled in by the voter personally without having received any outside influence. The system thus opens the way to abuses. For this reason the procedure of voting by correspondence has been given up in several countries. This is the case, for example, in France where voting by correspondence was abolished in 1975.

Voting by proxy

The system of voting by proxy enables citizens living abroad, who are unable to be present in their country of origin on the date of general elections, to take part in the voting by naming as proxy a person living in the home country to act in his name and vote on the day of the election in the constituency in which he is registered. Understandably, both persons concerned, the citizen residing abroad as well as the proxy, must be registered on the electoral list of a constituency. In France, where this system is practised, it is foreseen that a proxy cannot vote for more than two persons in the same constituency. However, in big cities, for example in Paris and Lyon, the elector living abroad and the proxy are allowed to be registered on the electoral list of different constituencies.

The form which is used to name another person as proxy is provided by the consulates in the country of residence of the citizen living abroad. The voter must personally fill in the form in the consulate. The duration of the proxy can be restricted, depending on the voter's wish, either to the entire election period or to a

limited period only, beginning for example with the date of registration of the proxy on the electoral list. The system of voting by proxy gives the voter abroad the possibility to give instructions to his proxy on the party or candidate for whom he wishes to vote. When a citizen living abroad fills in the form naming another national his proxy, the marital status and the file number on the electoral list of the constituency where both the elector and his proxy are registered have to be indicated.

The voter living abroad can decide, within certain limits, in which constituency he wishes to be registered. The following constituencies can be chosen:

- The constituency of the birth place;
- The constituency of the last residence before leaving the home country;
- The constituency where the voter last resided for more than six months;
- The constituency where the parents of the voter were born or are/were registered on the electoral list;
- The constituency where the elector's wife or his children are/were registered.

In addition, Law No. 72/1071 of 4 December 1972 enables voters who cannot benefit from the above possibilities to be registered on an electoral list of a municipality where the population exceeds 50,000 persons, provided that the number of voters residing abroad and having registered does not exceed two per cent of the total number of electors registered on the electoral list in that municipality.

The system of voting by proxy has a number of advantages. Nevertheless, it also involves some difficulties, which can be summarized as follows:

(i) Citizens residing abroad and wishing to take part in general elections have to go to their consulate in order to fill in the proxy document.
This means that those citizens who reside far away from their consulate have to travel long distances involving expenditure normally not reimbursed.

(ii) It is not easy to find a proxy registered in the same constituency as the elector.

(iii) The voter has to reveal to his proxy the political party or candidate for which or whom he wishes to vote, thus voluntarily renouncing to his right to absolute secrecy in elections in exchange for the privilege of voting.

Voting offices established in embassies or consulates

Due to certain problems encountered in the voting system by proxy, a number of countries favour the establishment of voting offices in their embassies and consulates abroad. This system permits citizens living abroad to register on an electoral list in their country of residence and to fill in their ballot paper on the day of the general election under the same conditions of secrecy as voters in the home country. However, these voting offices can only be opened with the consent of the host country. When this consent cannot be obtained, the possibility of opening some special voting offices near the border could partly replace the voting offices in consulates and embassies. This procedure would at least permit citizens living close to border areas to travel to these offices and take part in the general election. In other countries where an agreement on the opening of voting offices in embassies or consulates cannot be reached, the proxy procedure would then be the most appropriate system.

As concerns the French experience in establishing voting offices in embassies or consulates, it is to be noted that 16 voting offices were created abroad for the general election of spring 1978, one of which was established in Europe (West Berlin), the others in non-European countries.

The Finnish Election Law also foresees the possibility of opening voting offices

abroad. In the general election of 1975, several voting offices were established for the first time in Sweden in places where large numbers of Finnish citizens were residing. Thanks to this initiative, some twenty per cent of the Finnish citizens living in Sweden took advantage to vote in the consulates for the general election.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the advantages and disadvantages of the three voting procedures outlined above, the following proposals are made for the Turkish situation:

(i) The granting of the right to vote to Turkish migrant workers living abroad should be limited, at least for an initial period, to participation in general elections. The difficulties to establish a system enabling Turkish migrant workers abroad to vote in general elections are already considerable. They would only be increased by extending to citizens residing abroad the right to vote in regional and local elections.

(ii) The most appropriate system for Turkey would be to establish voting offices in those foreign countries where large numbers of Turkish citizens reside. The latter could register on the electoral lists in their respective consulates and go there personally on election day to fill in their ballot paper.

(iii) In countries where an agreement cannot be reached with the national authorities on opening voting offices in the Turkish embassies and consulates, it is suggested to adopt the procedure of voting by proxy. As this is likely to be the case in one country (the Federal Republic of Germany), where many Turkish citizens reside and consequently many proxies need to be nominated, it is suggested that the political parties be asked to help find a sufficient number of proxies.

(iv) In view of the high risk of abuse, the system of voting by correspondence is not recommended.

The Preservation of Immigrant Cultures; A contemporary Dilemma for Host Societies

BY D. STORER

INTRODUCTION

Post World War II voluntary international migration has been largely characterized by the movements of persons from poorer, less developed regions and countries to more industrialized or 'economically developed' countries. This general trend, of course, contrasted to 19th century end early 20th century voluntary migrations which tended to be from the richer, more established European countries to the less developed colonies and former colonies.

Contemporary migration was seen as a solution to problems of unemployment/underemployment in countries of origin and to the need for labour and a consumer populace of industrialized countries. Australia can be described as being a typical example of a post-war immigration country.

More recently, the 1970's has seen a general economic recession in most contemporary industrialized countries restricting their requirements for immigrants.

With these economic and immigration restrictions, contemporary industrialized countries have begun to consider the considerable social implications that have developed as a result of post-war economic and immigration policies.

The 1970's has also been marked by a concern by governments, international agencies and non-governmental organizations for the situation of the migrant communities and cultures that have come to live and work in these industrialized countries.

From these concerns, innumerable national and international seminars, discussions, conferences, research projects and policies have been developed so that today there is:

a general acceptance that immigrant cultures have the right *to be maintained in host societies; that there is a* need *that they be maintained and that this is of* benefit *to the migrants and ethnic minorities themselves and to the wider host society.*

There is a general consensus toward this philosophy. This can be seen by reference to the following international conferences and resolutions:

– The recent ILO conventions (No. 143) and recommendations (No. 151) produced at the 60th session of the ILO in 1975 concerned with the *Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers*. These included such recommendations as:

'... host countries to assist and encourage the efforts of migrant workers and their

TSS

families to preserve their national and ethnic identity and their cultural ties with their country of origin, including the possibility of children being given knowledge of their mother tongue' (7(1)C).

– ICEM – The Third Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Permanent Immigrants in 1977 included among its recommendations:

'... that close and continuous consultation should be maintained between the governments of the emigration and immigration countries with the object of promoting the harmonious development of ethnic groups and to enable migrants both to maintain cultural and social links with their homeland and to share this culture and lifestyle with the receiving community'

'... that the government of the countries of emigration assist these ethnic groups in the maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage by such means as are appropriate'.

– The resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations (16th December, 1977) concerning Measures to Improve the Situation and Ensure the Human Rights and Dignity of Migrant Workers, which 'invited governments of host countries to make arrangements for adequate information and reception facilities and to effect policies relating to training, health, social services, housing, educational and cultural development and to guarantee the free exercise of their activities calculated to preserve their cultural values' (Clause 3).

Similarly, Australia has been concerned to move toward developing policies to encourage the maintenance of migrant and ethnic cultures. This will be described in a subsequent section of this paper but it is a fact that since 1972 successive Australian Governments have consistently advocated the preservation of different cultures.

The Problem: Re-expressed in the 70's

The problem, therefore, is no longer to move governments and the communities of host societies to acknowledge the rights, the need, and the benefits of the maintenance of the various unique cultures, *but rather* to develop appropriate policies and strategies to enable such philosophies to be put into practice.

The key-question is: How can a diversity of cultures be maintained in a cohesive, just and egalitarian manner in present day industrialized societies?

Aims of the Paper

This paper aims to analyse some aspects of this contemporary dilemma using the experience of post-war Australia as an illustrative example.

The social context and social situation of migrants in post-war Australia is briefly described. The responses of Australian social structures and institutions to migrants in the 1950's and 1960's is next described. This sets the socio-historical context in which an analysis can be made of the attempts of Australian Governments and the social institutions to develop policies to encourage the maintenance of migrant and ethnic cultures.

From the analysis of the successes and failures of these attempts the main thesis of this paper is developed.

In essence this thesis is that the existing social structures of host societies are enveloped in a dilemma whereby contemporary values, opinions, social and political

pressures would have them accept the *rights* of migrant communities and ethnic communities to maintain their cultures. Yet existing social structures cannot support cultural identities that do not have attached socially distinct cultural or ethnic groups. Thus to encourage the true maintenance of different immigrant cultures means that the host society must also encourage the development of different *organized* immigrant groups and structures. Ultimately this would mean that the existing social structures and institutions would be sharing some of their social power and social resources with the newer immigrant/ethnic groups.

It is argued that to suggest that existing structures and groups will voluntarily share some of their power and resources is generally not acceptable to such structures. Therefore, these structures and groups must develop a philosophy, with associated policies and strategies to overcome such a dilemma.

Some of the policies of actions of recent Australian Governments and other institutions to overcome this dilemma are discussed.

The conclusions drawn from the paper are given and some suggestions for alternative methods of immigrant groups maintaining their cultures are presented.

POST-WAR IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Australia in 1947 was very much a homogeneous country with only 9.5 per cent of the populace having been born overseas and less than 3 per cent being of non-Anglo-Saxon origin.

Since 1947, when post-war immigration programmes commenced, some 3.3 million persons have migrated to Australia, producing some 2 million children. At the time of the 1971 Census, 39.6 per cent of Australians were either overseas born-or their children; over half of these were of non-English-speaking extraction. In the mid 1970's more than one in four Australians could claim to be the products of emigration from non-English-speaking countries (NES). United Nations Population Surveys describe Australia in the 1970's as having the largest proportion of overseas born workers of any modern industrialized country outside of the Middle Eastern region. Australia today is very much a multicultural and multiethnic society.

Occupation Distribution

Such migrations have been interrelated with the economic and industrial development of post-war Australia.

– Generally, migrants from non-Anglo-Saxon countries are unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have largely worked in manufacturing industries. So Greeks, Yugoslavs, Italians, Turks, etc. have been the basis of the growth of post-war manufacturing. 52 per cent of all blue collar manual labourers in Australia are of such overseas extraction. Over 40 per cent of *all* migrants work in manufacturing industries, compared to less than 20 per cent of Australian-born.

– In comparison, migrants from Anglo-Saxon countries or Northern Europe tend to work in highly-skilled, white collar or professional occupations.

This distribution is reflected in income, residence and educational opportunities of various immigrant groups in contemporary Australia.

Income Distributions

– The survey for the National Poverty Inquiry in 1973 found that 12.3 per cent of all income units from *non-English-speaking countries* are in poverty (twice the national average) after housing costs are taken into account (1975 Inquiry Into Poverty).
– The Australian Bureau of Statistics in its August 1976 survey gives the breakdown of mean average earnings:

Mean Earnings ($	*Australia*	*Main English speaking countries*	*F.R. Germany*	*Greece*	*Italy*	*Turkey*	*Other*	*Total*
Males	173	188	191	152	152	146	174	174
Females	131	140	141	114	111	109	136	131

– Migrant workers from Mediterranean countries earned some $20 a week less than *mean* average earnings and nearly $40 a week less than average earnings of persons from main English-speaking emigrant countries.
– This survey also showed that Southern European male production workers earn less ($151 a week) than English-speaking male production workers ($169 a week).

Education and Mobility

Persons migrate to obtain greater economic security for themselves and their families and to provide opportunities for their children through the formal education system.
– The Australian Council of Educational Research, in their 1975 Study on Educational Achievement of Migrant Children, compared samples of Australian-born children from non-English-speaking countries on their performances in various school tests. The results of the study indicated consistent differences in performance between Australian and English-speaking migrant children on the one hand and poorer performances of the non-English-speaking migrant children on the other hand. Differences were most marked on language tests.
Similar results have been found in other Australian National Surveys, such as Bourke and Keeves Study of *Australian Literacy and Numeracy* (1977).

At the risk of labouring a somewhat obvious point it is apparent that migrant men and women have been crucial to the development of post-war industry in Australia. A less obvious and perhaps a more important point is that this migrant concentration in manufacturing and construction industries either as process or labouring occupations has remained over many years and as such, migrants have not achieved any marked degree of occupational mobility.

Dr. *Lever* in a survey of data provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics over the years 1974-1971 concluded:
'The proportion of migrants in certain, mainly low status manual occupations, is rising faster than is their proportion in the population. Australian and British-born are leaving these jobs while non-British migrants are either entering them, staying in them, or leaving them more slowly than are Australian or British workers' (1975:45).

Similarly, a survey of 7,700 migrant household heads carried out for the Government's Australian Population and Immigration Council in 1970, as reported in *A Decade of Migrant Settlement*, describes how non-English-speaking workers have often been underemployed in accordance to the skills they have and have remained 'locked into' lower status manufacturing jobs over their total period of residence:
'The outstanding impression gained by the Committee in its analysis is that migrants' disadvantages often persist well past the initial settlement period and that there are many migrants long resident in the country whose welfare is cause for concern and action' (1976:i).

Summary

This overview has been necessary for we can only analyse the preservation of immigrant cultures within the total social context in which these cultures exist and are to be maintained. Structural responses reflect, at different periods, the primary causal factor for immigration – namely that migrants form a base for industry and a market for industrial products.

RESPONSES TO IMMIGRANT CULTURES: AUSTRALIA 1947-77

The Assimilationist Years

As stated, in the late 1940's Australia was a remarkably homogeneous society. The response of Australian structures and institutions actively promoted by successive Australian Governments in the 1950's and 1960's was one of 'assimilation'.

Professor *Martin*, in her recent analysis of changing responses to 'the migrant presence' (1978), describes the general philosophy of that period as:
'Migrants were lucky to have found a home in Australia away from the tensions and economic desolation of post-war Europe. They would soon see what a lucky, democratic country Australia is. With a little *individual* assistance they would soon want to become like other Australians and gradually speak English and have an Australian-cum-Anglo-Saxon way of life' (Martin 1978:27).

Australian structures did not have to change to incorporate the new immigrants. The Australian 'people' did not have to worry about being swamped by new cultures. The migrant cultures were consequently ignored or 'devalued' and migrants were dispersed through existing structures (work, religion, education, legal, health).

Towards the late 1960's, however, it became apparent that migrants were not simply 'assimilating'. They were living in distinct communities where they could go to shops, cinemas, cafes, speak in their own languages and transmit their cultures to their children through ethnic-based schools.

The response of Australian structures became one whereby migrants were seen as 'problems', i.e. people with social end economic disadvantages, people caught between two cultures. The contention being that what was needed was better communication between the host structures and the migrant communities. Once these 'problems' were eradicated then integration would be possible.

In the late 1960's in Australia, as in other Western industrialized countries, there developed a growing community concern with social, human and civil rights, particularly regarding ethnic minorities. This was fostered by the increasing length of residence of many immigrants who began to share their experiences and to organize.

These ethnic organizations began to articulate the view that their social disadvantages were not due to 'inherent problems of their cultures', but rather due to their overall situation in Australian society. With this growth of ethnic organizations and the support of community, church, welfare and other agencies there developed a general philosophy of 'multiculturalism'. Rather than expecting immigrant groups to throw off their cultures and assimilate to the Australian way of life it now became the belief that people should be able to maintain their unique cultures. This was their right and would not only be beneficial to individuals and groups but would also benefit Australia as a whole in providing a rich intermesh of cultures, ideas and experiences.

Governments gradually began to acknowledge the emerging trends. In terms of wanting to adopt policies to alleviate social and cultural disadvantages of migrants, as well as appeal to their emerging political pressure and potential, successive Governments of different political persuasions began to espouse multiculturalism as a virtue.

The Changing 1970's

The most important factor involved in the changing of attitudes of the Australian structures and the community to immigrant cultures has been the gradual emergence of migrant and ethnic social welfare organizations.

Up until 1970, ethnic organizations tended to be social (meetings, games, etc.), regional, church or sporting associations and were largely 'invisible' to the wider community.

The early 1970's saw the embryonic beginnings of a number of newer active more socially and politically oriented groups. The Australian Greek Welfare Society; Australian branches of the Federation of Italian Workers and their Families (FILEF); the Australian Turkish Associations; Spanish Workers' Commissions; Italian Committee of Assistance (Co.As.It.); Migrant Workers' Conference Committees and a number of other ethnic/migrant groups began to seek out the support of concerned Australian community-based organizations.

Generally the aims were similar:

– to have the right to maintain their languages and cultures;
– to receive better education for their children;
– to have greater access to resources;
– to have better opportunities for occupation and income mobility;
– to be able to participate more in Australian structures and decision-making processes.

Organizations were constituted, committees were formed, research surveys carried out, coalitions formed, conferences held, protests staged and publicity obtained. Some examples of these activities in the 1972-76 period were the:

– series of conferences focusing on ethnic rights;
– migrant worker and migrant education action conferences, held each year over this period;
– the development of migrant education and migrant worker coalition committees, which developed policies on bilingualism, multicultural education and cultural maintenance;
– the development of ethnic communities' councils in most states in Australia;
– the initiation of a welfare rights project (1974-75) with migrant staff and organizations, developing programmes to assure the rights of their communities;
– self surveys by the Greek (1974) and Italian (1975) organizations of some aspects

of their social situation in Australia and in connexion with community organizations such as CURA (Centre for Urban Research and Action) and EMC (Ecumenical Migration Centre); surveys of their work conditions (1976);
– numerous ethnic art, music and food festivals;
– development of ethnic language access radio programmes;
– development of a trade union migrant worker centre (1976).

All these developments occurred in a remarkably short period of time (over some four or five years). Migrant communities that had been ignored, devalued and silent were suddenly 'everywhere'. Once they were able, many of those communities that were supposed to have been 'assimilated' began to show how concerned they were to maintain their unique culture – they wanted to be recognized for what they were. Governments had to respond to this new situation.

Government Responses in the Seventies

Since 1972 successive Australian Governments have generally accepted those international and intranational arguments and pressures promoting the maintenance of migrant cultures. All Governments of different political persuasions now publicly express their commitment to 'multiculturalism'.

Since 1972 there has been considerable 'huffing and puffing' about this general change in philosophy to multiculturalism by these different governments.

Over this period a multitude of committees, inquiries and some services have been instigated. Between 1971-1977, for example, at the Australian federal level:
– some 18 special committees have been established by Australian Governments concerned to report on the social, employment, education, legal, health, economic and cultural situation of migrants in Australia;
– six standing Committees of the Australian Parliament have been established (concerned with ethnic affairs, translator requirements, education of migrants, ethnic broadcasting);
– six special ethnic cultural services established (including a telephone interpreter service, child migrant education, ethnic access radio);
– some four administrative bureaucratic changes involving shifting of functions of various departments of immigration, labour, education and social security;
– a Commission for Community Relations established;
– a Racial Discrimination Bill passed and a Human Rights Bill introduced but defeated in the Federal Parliament (Martin: 1978).

Over this period Governments looked to international efforts to handle cultural diversity. Taking the models of Canada's attempts to promote multiculturalism and the U.S.A. Ethnic Heritage and Bilingual Legislation, Australian Governments began to fund migrant and ethnic organizations in their attempts to promote and maintain their unique cultures. Such funding came via:
– Australian Art Council grants for cultural activities;
– Schools Commission grants for innovative ethnic programmes;
– Social Security grants for welfare rights workers and social workers attached to ethnic based agencies;
– Social Welfare Commission grants via the Australian Assistance Plan for community development projects with migrant groups;
– International Women's Year grants to community organizations work with migrant women, e.g. migrant needlework groups;

– Grants to set up multilingual pilot radio stations;
– Innumerable grants to pay for migrant conferences, seminars, research projects and discussion sessions.

THE DILEMMA OF MAINTAINING MIGRANT CULTURES

By early 1977 Australia had in effect – at least at an official Government policy level – undergone a transformation. No longer were non-Anglo-Saxon migrant cultures expected to assimilate to become 'Australians'. In fact, the flurry of activities and the endless rhetoric of the five years previous had meant that the accepted goals of Australian Governments was one of multiculturalism.

However, events since late 1976 have indicated the dilemma that was developing as a result of all this activity.

The Dilemma

This dilemma can be described by the following stages:
– the host society social structures respond to pressures of migrant, ethnic and community organizations both in a positive sense and in order to maintain the existing social structural hierarchy and social order;
– to encourage the maintenance of migrant cultures means that migrant organizations (that are, of course, the bearers, transmitters and maintainers of such cultures) must be supported;
– In Australia this support came in the form of government grants, assistance, etc.;
– as migrant organizations gain community and financial support so they develop in strength and confidence;
– with this newly gained strength and confidence migrant organizations soon realize that their cultures are not equally accepted and begin to question their social, economic, cultural situation and to challenge existing social structures (whether they be political, unions, employers, education, legal, etc.);
– ethnic organizations sometimes even begin to question the whole process of migration – the need, the causes as well as the consequences of migration;
– consequently, those existing social structures and groups with social power that had encouraged migrants to come to live and work in Australia in the first place begin to feel threatened.

What had been an attempt to incorporate cultural diversity to maintain an existing social order often to some extent backfired and unless checked such processes could in effect lead to a change in existing social structures.

Some Recent Actions

In the last two years there are indications that Australian Governments have recognized this dilemma and have taken actions to check such trends. Some examples of such recent actions are:
– The cessation of the Australian Assistance Plan, an innovative community development programme, which had been the supporter of many community development projects carried out in the 1972-75 period by migrant, ethnic and community groups;
– The cutting of welfare rights grants to the Federation of Italian Immigrant workers

and their Families (FILEF), an Italian organization that had been perhaps the most critical and forthright in its attempts to push for the maintenance of migrant cultures, to obtain the right for Italians to participate in the wider Australian community and to obtain greater equality of opportunity for Italians.
(Associated in the cutting of Government support, FILEF was in fact persecuted by the Australian press; had its offices burnt and one of its key-organizers was deported by the Government after applying for an Amnesty offered by the Federal Government in early 1976);
– An access radio station (3ZZ) was closed down in August 1977; the access station was largely run and used by ethnic/migrant communities over the two years of its operation based on representative-elected management and programme committees. Programmes were cultural, social, musical and political in content. They provided such a popular service (according to sample polls) and a much needed multilingual information service that they could only be closed down with the assistance of police stopping the generators. Considerable public protests surrounded this closure.
– Recently a number of more critical and controversial reports initiated by Governments have been 'quashed' by Governments upon their completion. Such reports have included:
i. A nationwide survey of migrant settlement (occupation, income, etc.) initiated by the Department of Labour and Immigrant as an *urgent priority* in 1973 was finally and reluctantly tabled in Parliament in November 1978.
(The main conclusions of the survey were that migrant skills/cultures were being under-utilized and 'migrant disadvantages often persisted well past the initial settlement period' (1976: 128) received no attention and no publicity by the Government.
ii. Similar reports by the Inquiry into Australian Poverty – concerned with aspects of migrant income, housing, education, legal and health situations – received similar 'low key' treatment.
iii. A research inquiry into the economic costs-benefits of post-war migration commissioned in 1970 by the Australian Government has not yet been released.
iv. A Report on the *Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools* by a Committee established in 1974 for the Minister for Education was presented in March 1976 and only debated in Parliament in April 1977 after considerable community pressure that this happen.

The latest Government Inquiry was tabled in May 1978. This was a review of *Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants*. This report to a large extent crystallizes both the experiences and dilemmas of the seventies. In many ways, it is the most important of Government reports concerned to maintain immigrant and ethnic cultures in Australia. It was historic if only because it was tabled and printed in ten languages. The following four guiding principles formed the basis of all the recommendations:

(a) all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realize their full potential and must have equal access to programmes and services;
(b) every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;
(c) needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programmes and services available to the whole community but special services and programmes are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision;

d) services and programmes should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly.

An interrelated programme was presented for 1979-81 totalling $50 million which the Government has accepted in full. These programmes to be implemented will no doubt be presented by the Australian Government at this conference – include more settlement centres, increased English language courses (at various levels and localities); more provisions for interpreters, translators and multilingual information; development of multilingual resource centres and an increase of welfare workers attached to migrant organizations; project grants to migrant/ethnic groups; greater use of migrant ethnic workers in government services; the development of multicultural education programmes in Australian schools; the establishment of an Institute of Multicultural Affairs; the extension of ethnic radio and the development of ethnic television.

These are important and admirable policies and, if implemented as written, will go a long way toward assisting immigrant and ethnic communities in their efforts to maintain their cultures.

However, the dilemmas still remain: the report has been criticized by failing to give enough attention to the structural situation of migrants and non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups in Australia and the fact that such groups work in industry and are over-represented in the poorer sectors of our society (Faulkner, 1978).

The major problems for the preservation of immigrant cultures in Australia in the next decade are likely to be interrelated with their social-structural situation in that they work and live in those areas likely to undergo extreme structural changes over this period. Australian industry is going through a severe crisis and there is a rapid reduction in manufacturing employment (Storer, 1978). This must create considerable disruptions for migrants – their families and their cultures. Yet this is ignored in the report.

We have yet to see the implementation of the recommendations. If my thesis has any truth I would suggest that if the recommendations are 'successful' and migrant and ethnic groups develop as they did in the early 1970's then they are likely to become increasingly critical of their employment situation and position in the social hierarchy. Governments will still have to act on this dilemma.

Already there are some signs that the Government is aware of the dilemma. For example, some migrant/ethnic organizations that have been publicly critical of their social situation in Australia and have received high priority to receive special asistance (grant-in-aid social/welfare workers) have not received such assistance, apparently due to ministerial intervention. Apart from FILEF, both the Australian Yugoslav Welfare and the Maltese Communities' Welfare organizations have not received such grants at this time, even though they have had applications approved by Departmental personnel.

CONCLUSIONS

International migration in the contemporary industrialized world is essentially political in that governments ultimately control the extent, type and use of immigration.

The social position of migrants in their host societies is largely designated and determined even before immigrants set foot in their 'new' countries.

In Australia, as in many other countries, migrants from non-Anglo-Saxon countries

have largely formed the basis of Australian industry. Such migrant men and women came to work as labourers, process workers, service personnel, etc., and have, by and large, remained in this situation.

It is important to remember this social context in any analysis of the attempts to maintain immigrant cultures in host societies. It is, I have argued, the basis of a considerable dilemma for existing host society social structures, institutions and governments.

In Australia, a complex number of international and intranational changes and pressures developed in the late 1960's, which meant that Australian structures and governments had to begin to develop policies and philosophies to accommodate the demographic diversity of the society. Old policies and philosophies of 'assimilation' and 'integration' had not been successfull. Social structures, institutions and governments needed a new philosophy to accommodate ethnic diverse populations with *a minimum of change*. The ideological solution was to accept and develop on the notion of a *multicultural society* where different cultures would have the right to be maintained within the existing host society. To do this the existing structures funded migrant/ethnic organizations. This created a dilemma however in that this often helped create strong confident migrant groups who began to be critical of their social, employment and economic as well as cultural situation in Australia. They began to challenge the social structure that had brought them to Australia in the first place and the social institutions that had maintained their present situation. The existing social structures and governments responded by checking such challenges by withdrawing their financial and social support.

In this dilemma governments and structures (unions, education, etc.), in order to maintain their position, have to respond to the ethnic diversity but not to an extent that they create the possibility of separate structures which will challenge the social order. Conversely, in the dilemma migrant and ethnic communities can only act to a level that will not challenge the existing social structures. Are there any ways out of this dilemma?

Ways out of the Dilemma

For Migrant Communities. Migrant communities who wish to maintain and preserve their cultures in a strong, dignified manner can never be sure of doing so if they are dependent solely on governments or for that matter solely on any one existent social structure or institution.

Therefore, migrant communities must also:

– seek support of a diverse range of other existing social institutions (e.g., churches, trade unions, voluntary associations, education structures, etc.) in their attempts to maintain their cultures;

– form alliances around various cultural and social issues with other social and cultural based organizations that are also attempting to improve their situation in the host society;

– spend considerable time informing, involving and developing contact with as many members of their 'social cultural populace' as they possibly can. If people feel confident and committed in their attempts to maintain their cultures and achieve their rights then this reduces their dependency on existing governmental resources.

For Host Society Governments. The way-out of this dilemma for host societies and their 'majority' governments is, I believe, to begin to focus on long-term implications rather than solely on short-term political problems.

If host societies could begin to understand that by maintaining the existing socio-cultural situation whereby certain social, cultural minority groups are being devalued, and in a situation whereby they remain as the basis of the industrial workforce with little opportunity of mobility, then experience suggests that such a situation ends in extreme frustration and ultimately conflict which is not in the interest of the host community or existing social structures. As the ILO creed states: 'Injustice, hardship and deprivation of large numbers of people provides unrest and disharmony. Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere'.

Host societies such as Australia if they are truly concerned to preserve all immigrant cultures, as well as the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, must realize that in the long term it is in the interests of the society to develop not only *cultural pluralism* but also accept social and structural pluralism.

I suppose I am being somewhat idealistic but I believe in a pluralist society that governments (i.e. the host community) should continue to support migrant minority organizations even when they are being critical of the existing social system.

REFERENCES

Australian Bureau of Statistics	1977	*Migrants in the Workforce 1972-1976*
Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty	1975	*Poverty in Australia*, Government Printer, Canberra
Australian Population and Immigration Council	1978	*A Decade of Settlement*, Government Printer, Canberra
Australian Government	1978	*Migrant Services and Programs*, Government Printer, Canberra
Australian Department of Education	1976	*The Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools*, A.G.P.S., Canberra
Bourke, S. and Keeves, T.	1977	*Literacy and Numeracy in Australia*, ACER, Hawthorn
De Lemos, M.	1975	*A Study of the Educational Achievement of Migrant Children*, ACER, Hawthorn
International Labour Organisation	1975	'Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers', Convention No. 143, Recommendation No. 151
International Labour Organisation	1976	*Employment Growth and Basic Needs: A One World Problem*, ILO, Geneva
Lever, C.	1976	*Migrants in the Workforce*, La Trobe University, Victoria
Martin, J.	1978	*The Migrant Presence*, George Allan and Unwin, Sydney
Faulkner, A.	1978	'The Galbally Report: An Invitation to Change', *EKSTASIS*, No. 21, Victoria
Storer, D.	1978	*Employment Prospects of Non-English-Speaking Migrant Workers*, Mimeograph, CURA
United Nations General Assembly	1977	'Measures to Improve the Situation and ensure the Human Rights and Dignity of Migrant Workers', Resolution adopted 16/12/1977

Preservation of the Immigrants Culture and sharing of cultural Values

BY MR. I.K. LINDENMAYER

The subject of this paper is a matter which has received much attention in Australia over the past few years. The Australian Government applauds ICEM's foresight in providing for a discussion in this Seminar of countries' programs and policies on the maintenance and dissemination of immigrant cultures in the countries of resettlement. Seminars such as this provide an opportunity for representatives of Governments, non-governmental agencies and concerned individuals to gather together to exchange knowledge and experience on problems in which they have a common interest. I am pleased to say, however, that almost all of the papers for this Seminar have gone well beyond problems, focusing extensively upon solutions. It is reassuring to find not just a willingness but an eagerness on the part of participants to move from a theoretical examination of human phenomena and the analysis of problems into the identification of measures to put right those things that are currently less than satisfactory. In general, the spirit of papers has been to try to build on the achievements of the past and to overcome problems which persist. It is very disappointing to find that the paper on Australia's performance in the preservation and dissemination of immigrant cultures seriously lacks balance and accuracy, largely ignoring the very real progress made. The following comments seek to give some balance to the discussion.

I wish to stay within the practical problem-solving spirit of the Seminar, focusing upon the measures taken or planned by Australia to ensure the maintenance of immigrant cultures and to promote the dissemination of cultures between groups. But in doing so, I must correct some of the more glaring misstatements in the other paper.

Australia's policy on immigrant settlement has come a long way in the three decades since World War II. In that time Australia has accepted over 3½ million new settlers. In addition, since then over one million children have been born to immigrant parents and almost one million children have been born to parents of whom one was an immigrant. These statistics indicate how great a role immigrants have played in Australia's population growth of seven million since the end of World War II.

While the history of Australian development up to the mid 1940's included the arrival of some non-British immigrants, the total non-British immigrant population of Australia in 1947 was under three per cent and most had been in Australia for at least twenty years. It was therefore with some uncertainty that Australia embarked on its

large-scale immigration program in the late 1940's, encompassing large numbers of settlers from non-British sources. The Australian policy of that time was one of assimilation. There was a naive expectation that immigrants would want to abandon their traditional languages and cultures and conform as closely and as quickly as possible to the existing Australian norm. Nevertheless, there was a remarkable degree of tolerance and acceptance of immigrants, given its prolonged isolation from non-British cultures and the spirit of suspicion and xenophobia resulting from the hostility and brutality between nations and ethnic groups during the War. Despite the numbers involved, inter-group hostilities were unknown. An active, Australia-wide movement, the Good Neighbour Movement, quickly emerged to organize community action to welcome immigrants.

It was not long, however, before the complexion of Australian society began to change quite markedly. There was a new diversity in the cuisine of the country; an emerging interest in the performing and graphic artistic traditions of Europe; the steady growth of a new spirit of understanding and tolerance of systems of governments and social patterns different from those of the early host society. Inexorably, while the policy remained nominally one of assimilation the pattern of social interaction between immigrants and the host community became more and more one of integration. In due course the formal policy of assimilation was abandoned and Australia adopted a policy of integration.

Over recent years, there has been further development in Australia's policy on immigrant settlement and Australia is now pursuing two broad policy goals. Australia still looks to its immigrant settlement programs as being a principal instrument for achieving a single cohesive and harmonious Australian community. However, Australia places equal importance now upon maintaining and developing the richness and diversity which comes from the juxtaposition of a variety of cultures and languages, provided this occurs in a climate of understanding and tolerance.

There is, however, a danger that the institutionalization of cultural differences, if taken to extremes, will militate against other important settlement goals and the long term interests of certain groups. There are, for example, great advantages in a national *lingua franca* – in Australia's case, English; it is important therefore to ensure that programs for the maintenance of immigrants' traditional languages do not place members of those groups at a disadvantage for lack of fluency in the lingua franca. Similarly, where one ethnic group suffers from lack of community structures and resources, there is a limit to which an egalitarian society can equitably hand over to that group responsibility for providing services for its members; in such a situation the initial deprivation is likely to persist generation after generation and create a situation where ethnic origin becomes permanently identified with socio-economic status. As these examples illustrate, there are limits to which governments can pursue policies of social pluralism without jeopardizing the interests of individuals affected by such policies. Australia's policy could broadly be said to be one of promoting cultural maintenance as far as practicable and consistent with other social goals such as freedom of choice, equality of opportunity and social harmony.

The background papers provided by Australia cover in some detail the various programs intended to meet the needs of immigrants in a multi-cultural society. Through 1977 and 1978, Australia embarked on a fundamental review of all aspects of the immigrant settlement process. This review under the direction of an eminent Australian lawyer, Mr. *Frank Galbally*, produced some fifty-seven recommendations. In May 1978, the Prime Minister of Australia announced that the Australian Government had accepted all fifty-seven recommendations.

That Government decision represents a major departure in five ways.
Firstly, settlement programs are to be preventive rather than curative in addressing the problems of adjustment of immigrants to a new social and economic environment.
Secondly, it recognizes that different immigrant communities have different needs and social and cultural norms and aspirations, and that each community therefore has its own particular problems and barriers to overcome in the adjustment process.
Thirdly, it reaffirms the two-way process of adjustment entailed in immigrant settlement. Successful integration requires a continuing process of adaptation on the part of host community as well as within the immigrant group.
Fourthly, immigrant settlement is seen as touching all aspects of life in Australia and not just something which an Australian Federal Government alone could deal with effectively. All levels of Government and the community at large are to be part of the process of settlement.
And *finally*, Government programs are to be built on the unique qualifications of the ethnic communities in providing services to their own members. The new policy emphasizes ethnic community self help, with governments and other elements of the community providing financial and other support that would otherwise not be available.

Of the fifty-seven recommendations made by the Galbally inquiry, some twenty-nine are already implemented fully or largely. A further twenty-two have been developed to an advanced stage of implementation and action has commenced to implement the remainder. The Australian Government information paper identifies many of these initiatives. Let me point to a few.

Settlement councils have been established throughout Australia to bring together ethnic communities and leaders of government agencies providing settlement services. They are intended to achieve the co-ordination of programs of the various agencies to ensure that policy remains relevant to the problems and needs of those whom they are intended to serve.

Several steps have been taken to shift the face-to-face delivery of welfare services from government agencies to the ethnic communities. There has been a substantial increase in the number of grants-in-aid made to ethnic community and other community service agencies to provide for the employment of social workers and welfare officers to work within the ethnic communities. Annual funding has risen from $47,000 ten years ago, to $354,000 five years ago to $972,000 this year. Two years hence it will be $1.3 million. Multi-cultural resource centres are being established in eighteen locations throughout Australia. These are to provide a variety of services to the ethnic communities, the most important of all being advice, assistance and back-up facilities for the development of new and more active ethnic community structures.

The Government has also instituted what is called an Immigrant Project Subsidy Scheme. Twenty-five subsidies have already been granted under this program to break the impasse which frequently occurs when a group of strongly motivated individuals rally to meet a community need but fail because of lack of necessary physical facilities.

One of the most important factors in maintaining the language and culture of an immigrant community is the existence of communication media using that language and purveying that culture. In 1977, Australia established a permanent ethnic broadcasting service through the establishment of an independent statutory authority, the Special Broadcasting Service. Ethnic radio programs are now provided by the service in

the main areas of immigrant concentration, Sydney and Melbourne, on an eighteen hours a day, seven days a week basis. Funding is also provided to community organizations in other areas to allow them to buy broadcast time on existing stations in those locations. The newest development occurred in the last two weeks, with the commencement of experimental ethnic television. These initiatives in ethnic broadcasting have made an enormous contribution to the maintenance and dissemination of traditional languages and cultures. A very high proportion of potential audiences are listening to ethnic radio programs; in addition, very substantial numbers of Australians listen to these programs as a means of acquiring a knowledge of one or more of the languages of the immigrant community in Australia and an appreciation of the culture. Ethnic broadcasting has also made a significant contribution to restoring the legitimacy of the parental culture in the eyes of Australian-born children of immigrants. It has also played a major role in establishing a means of communication with those people most isolated – those with limited literacy in their own languages, unable to read printed material either in English or in their own languages. While there have been problems over choice of program content and areas of disagreement over the distribution of broadcasting time between the competing linguistic groups, ethnic broadcasting has, to date, made a major contribution to inter-group understanding, to the dissemination of information of importance to successful settlement and to the enjoyment and refurbishment of the traditional cultures of our immigrant communities.

Another major initiative flowing from the Galbally Report is the establishment of an Institute of Multi-Cultural Affairs. The details of its role are still being finalized but the outline which has been sketched for it encompasses research and investigation into a wide range of aspects of immigration, immigrant settlement and immigrant cultures. From this research and investigation new policies will no doubt emerge.

The adjustment of Government to the multicultural nature of Australian society is not just a matter of new programs and more funding. This adjustment also requires a more subtle response through sensitizing people formulating policy and delivering services to the nature of the multi-cultural society. Recently, the Australian Government appointed ethnic liaison officers in all Australian Government departments and instrumentalities; their function is to ensure that the needs of immigrant communities are known and taken into account in all facets of Australian Government administration. Cultural awareness courses are being conducted to ensure that Government officials involved in face-to-face conduct with people from different cultures have a proper understanding of those cultures.

Australia's telephone interpreter services represent another major step across the language barrier. This free service provides an interpretation service to non-English speakers instantly by telephone. The Australian Government is also encouraging the employment of people with language skills in Government agencies dealing directly with the public.

At the same time, a massive program of English language instruction continues throughout Australia. This program recognizes that different people arrive in Australia with different educational and linguistic attainments and different language needs. Accordingly, the intensity of English-language instruction available to immigrants ranges from intensive full-time programs for professionally qualified immigrants, to very low intensity programs such as the Home Tutor Scheme under which Australian women 'adopt' one or more wives from non-English speaking families and make regular visits to the home of the adopted immigrant family. The Home Tutor Scheme not only provides a gentle and effective introduction to English-language instruction

for the house-bound immigrant mother who often misses out – it also provides a very important social interaction between members of the host community and newly arrived immigrant families.

What of the future? Firstly, Australia has recommitted itself to an active immigration program for the future. In a world where most countries face population pressures on space and natural resources, Australia finds itself very lightly populated with vast natural resources. At the same time, Australia's birth rate is falling steeply and a substantial program of immigration is essential to several of Australia's major national goals.

The future also holds out new challenges. Australia is currently making a major contribution to the resettlement of Indo-Chinese refugees – in per capita terms, Australia is taking more than any other country. No doubt, other refugee situations will arise in the future and Australia will again respond by accepting, on humanitarian grounds, substantial numbers of people not meeting normal immigration criteria. Such situations represent a challenge essentially because compassion demands that we not apply the usual standards for immigrant selection in refugee situations. As a result, many of the people accepted lack characteristics and attainments deemed necessary for speedy resettlement. Such situations require government and community action not generally required by normal immigration programs. However, as a result of the initiatives taken over the past few years, Australia can look forward with a good deal of confidence that the machinery is in place to deal with new problems as they emerge.

While we may not invariably be able to prevent such problems before they arise, at least the established means of monitoring the settlement process and feeding into the government an up-to-date awareness of successes and failures should ensure that no problem continues for long without an appropriate and considered response.

Australia's approach will also ensure that such a response will not be something imposed on the community concerned. As a matter of course it will be developed in consultation with the community and implemented through the community.

Information Papers

Documents d'Information

Documentos de Información

246

No. Title/titre/título	*Prepared by:/Par:/Preparado por:*
MC/SAI/IV/INF/1 The problems of Turkish migrants' schoolage children and some proposals to help solve them	Government of Turkey
MC/SAI/IV/INF/2 The emigration process: why immigrants and the majority population so seldom meet	National Swedish Social Welfare Board
MC/SAI/IV/INF/3 Problems of adaptation and integration among immigrant children in Israel	Government of Israel
MC/SAI/IV/INF/4 Migrant and refugee children: their needs, problems and contribution to host societies	World Y.W.C.A.
MC/SAI/IV/INF/5 Education of migrant children is education for a a multicultural Australia L'éducation des enfants de migrants c'est d'abord une éducation conçue pour une Australie multiculturelle	World Council of Churches
MC/SAI/IV/INF/6 Australia's integration policies	Government of Australia
MC/SAI/IV/INF/7 Information paper on the report of the review of post-arrival services and programs Brochure de renseignements concernant le rapport du Comité d'enquête sur les services et les programmes offerts aux émigrants après leur arrivée en Australie Documento informativo relativo al informe de la revisión de los servicios y programas posllegada	Government of Australia
MC/SAI/IV/INF/8 Preservation of the immigrants' culture, the sharing of cultural values and related questions Préservation de la culture des immigrants, partage des valeurs culturelles et questions connexes Preservación de la cultura de los inmigrantes, compartimiento de los valores culturales y cuestiones afines	Government of Canada

247

No. Title/titre/título	*Prepared by:/Par:/Preparado por:*
MC/SAI/IV/INF/9 Socialisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants	Service Sociale d'Aide aux Emigrants (Section française du Service Social International)
MC/SAI/IV/INF/10 Children of Surinam migrants to Holland	International Social Service (Dutch Branch)
MC/SAI/IV/INF/11 R[illegible]e children from South-East Asia	United States Catholic Conference
MC/SAI/IV/INF/12 L'éducation des enfants de migrants: orientation, apprentissage des langues The education of children of migrant workers: guidance, language instruction	Gouvernement belge
MC/SAI/IV/INF/13 La situación de los niños refugiados de acuerdo con la Declaración de los Derechos del Niño The situation of refugee children in the light of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child	Gobierno de Argentina
MC/SAI/IV/INF/14 Le mandat et l'activité de la Commission fédérale consultative pour le problème des étrangers (CFE)	Gouvernement suisse
MC/SAI/IV/INF/15 Accueil des mineurs isolés du Sud-Est Asiatique Reception of isolated young people from South-East Asia	Ligue des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge
MC/SAI/IV/INF/16 Description of Pakistani immigrants in Denmark: their adaptation and integration into the Danish society	Government of Denmark

No. Title/titre/título	*Prepared by:/Par:/Preparado por:*
MC/SAI/IV/INF/17 The Folkeskole instruction of non-Danish-speaking pupils in Denmark with a description of the experience gained with respect to the integration of these pupils into the schools	Government of Denmark
MC/SAI/IV/INF/18 Les migrants portugais et leurs enfants: adaptation et intégration	Gouvernement du Portugal
MC/SAI/IV/INF/19 Problèmes de l'intégration professionnelle et linguistique des enfants d'ouvriers étrangers en République fédérale d'Allemagne	M.L. Vogt Office national pour l'emploi de la République fédérale d'Allemagne
MC/SAI/IV/INF/20 Adaptation et intégration des enfants des immigrés et des réfugiés	La Commission Pontificale pour la Pastorale des Migrations et du Tourisme (Saint-Siège)
MC/SAI/IV/INF/21 Adaptation and integration of refugee children in Norway, with particular reference to un-accompanied refugee children Adaptation et intégration des enfants réfugiés en Norvège, avec note particulière concernant les enfants réfugiés non accompagnés	Norwegian Refugee Council
MC/SAI/IV/INF/22 Children of migrant workers Enfants des travailleurs migrants	IYC Secretariat in collaboration with Council of Europe and ICEM
MC/SAI/IV/INF/23 Adaptation and integration of immigrant children - Experiences of immigrant children in Brazil	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

Copies of working and information papers may be obtained upon request from: ICEM 16, avenue Jean-Trembley, 1211 Genève 19, Switzerland. Please mention the code number and language desired.

Des exemplaires des documents de travail et d'information peuvent être obtenus sur demande adressée au CIME, 16, avenue Jean-Trembley, 1211 Genève 19, Suisse, avec indication de la cote et de la langue désirée.

Ejemplares de los documentos de trabajo y de información pueden obtenerse dirigiéndose para ello al CIME, 16, avenue Jean-Trembley, 1211 Ginebra 19 (Suiza), con indicación de la signatura del documento y del idioma deseado.

Participants

Participants

Participantes

Governments

ARGENTINA	
Srta. N. Freyre Penabad	Ministro, Misión Permanente de la República Argentina, Ginebra
Sr. D. V. Sudic	Consejero, Misión Permanente de la República Argentina, Ginebra
Sr. M. A. Vernengo	Primer Secretario, Misión Permanente de Argentina, Ginebra
AUSTRALIA	
Mr. I. K. Lindenmayer	First Assistant Secretary, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Canberra
Mr. M. A. S. Landale	First Secretary, Australian Mission, Geneva
Mr. C. Strohal	Secretary, Australian Mission, Geneva
BELGIQUE	
M. R. Fourdin	Directeur général de la Chancellerie et du Contentieux, Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce extérieur, Bruxelles
M. J. Denys	Directeur général, Administration de l'emploi, Ministère de l'Emploi et du Travail, Bruxelles
Mme P. Deprêtre	Directeur au Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Bruxelles
M. W. Dumon	Professeur de Sociologie, Université de Louvain
BOLIVIA	
Sr. C. Orias Cano	Secretario General de Inmigración, La Paz
Sr. C. Llanos	Inspector General de Inmigración, La Paz
Sr. A. Loaiza-Mariaca	Ministro Consejero, Misión Permanente de Bolivia, Ginebra
CANADA	
Mr. R. McKinnon	Deputy Permanent Representative, Canadian Mission to the United Nations, Geneva
Mr. A. Jurkovic	Counsellor, Immigration Affairs, Canadian Embassy to Switzerland, Bern
Mr. R. Vigneau	Associate Deputy Minister, Department of Immigration of Quebec, Montreal
CHILI	
Sr. L. Winter	Consejero, Delegación Permanente de Chile, Ginebra
COLOMBIA	
Sra. H. Herrán	Primer Secretario, Misión Permanente de Colombia, Ginebra
Sra. A. Gómez	Tercer Secretario, Misión Permanente de Colombia, Ginebra
COSTA RICA	
Excma. Srta. M. Quirós	Representante Permanente Adjunto, Misión Permanente de Costa Rica, Ginebra
DENMARK	
Mrs. K. Andersen	Counsellor of Migrant Workers, Ministry of Social Affairs, Copenhagen

Mrs. B. Wünsche	Deputy Inspector for Education of Migrant Children, Ministry of E[illegible]ation, Copenhagen
Mrs. H. Griffin	Chief of Divis[illegible], The Danish Refugee Council, Copenhagen
ECUADOR	
Excmo. Dr. R. Valdéz	Representante Permanente del Ecuador, Ginebra
Sr. F. Traversari	Primer Secretario, Misión Permanente del Ecuador, Ginebra
EGYPTE (Rép. arabe d')	
M. M. N. Fahmy (Rép. arabe d')	Mission permanente de l'Egypte, Genève
ESPAÑA	
Sr. J. J[illegible]ases Méndez	Subdirector general de participación y acción cultural del Instituto español de Emigración, Madrid
GERMANY (Fed. Rep of)	
Mr. L. R. Vogt	Counsellor, Central Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg
Mr. W. von Treskow	Counsellor, German Permanent Mission, Geneva
GREECE	
Mr. A. Theologis	Direction of Foreign Schools, Ministry of Education, Athens
HONDURAS	
Sr. P. Garay-Alvarado	Primer Secretario, Misión Permanente del Honduras, Ginebra
Sra. G. Quesada Janson	Misión Permanente del Honduras, Ginebra
ISRAEL	
Mr. E. Leshem	Director, Research and Planning Division, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Jerusalem
Prof. F. Meyer Loewenberg	Director, School of Social Work, Bar-Ilan University, Tel-Aviv
Dr. E. Sabbatello	Director, Population, Demography and Health Division, Central Bureau of Statistics, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Y. Eshed	Jewish Agency, Immigration and Absorption Department, Tel-Aviv
ITALIE	
S. E. M. G. Falchi	Ambassadeur, ancien Directeur général de l'émigration, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Rome
M. M. Sica	Conseiller, Ambassade d'Italie, Berne
LUXEMBOURG	
M. G. Raus	Commissaire à l'Immigration, Ministère de la famille, du logement social et de la solidarité sociale, Luxembourg
NETHERLANDS	
Dr. A. Eppink	Director, Averroès Foundation, Amsterdam
Mr. H. B. Entzinger	Secretary, Advisory Committee for Research on Minorities, The Hague

Mr. M. J. A. Penninx	Policy Planning Branch, Directorate-General for Community Development, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work, The Hague
Mr. C. A. Tiggelaar	Welfare of Foreigners Division, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work, The Hague
Mr. G. O. Junge	Directorate of Emigration, Ministry of Social Affairs, The Hague

NICARAGUA

Excmo. Sr. G. Cajina-Mejicano	Embajador, Misión Permanente de Nicaragua, Ginebra

NORWAY

Mr. Ø. Opdahl	Chief of Division, Ministry of Social Affairs, Oslo
Ms. L. Gunvaldsen	Senior Counsellor, Ministry of Education, Oslo
Ms. I. L. Søberg	Counsellor, Ministry of Social Affairs, Oslo
Ms. T. Stenstad	Norwegian Refugee Council, Oslo
Mr. T. C. Schjøth	Norwegian Refugee Council, Oslo
Ms. B. Såtersdal	

ORDRE SOUVERAIN DE MALTE

S. E. le Comte de Noüe	Ambassadeur, Délégué permanent de l'Ordre Souverain de Malte, Genève
S. E. le Comte E. Decazes	Ambassadeur, Délégué adjoint de l'Ordre Souverain de Malte, Genève
M. R. Villard de Thoire	Conseiller, Délégation permanente de l'Ordre Souverain de Malte, Genève

PANAMA

Sr. L. E. Martínez Cruz	Misión permanente de Panamá, Ginebra, Suiza

PERU

Sr. J. Aurich	Segundo Secretario, Misión Permanente del Perú, Ginebra

PORTUGAL

Mme R. Gomes	Directeur de Service, Secrétariat d'Etat aux Affaires étrangères et à l'Emigration, Lisbonne
M. C. Castro Almeida	Attaché à la Mission permanente du Portugal auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies, Genève

REPUBLICA DOMINICANA

Dr. H. L. Hernández	Embajador, Representante Permanente de la República Dominicana, Ginebra
Dr. M. Núnez-Arias	Primer Secretario, Misión Permanente de la República Dominicana, Ginebra

SAINT-SIEGE

Dr. T. Stark	Délégué, Genève
Mgr P. Bouvier	Délégué, Genève
R. Père B. Rossi	Délégué, Genève

SUISSE

M. H. Heinzmann	Chef, Secrétariat de la Commission fédérale consultative pour le problème des étrangers, Berne

SWEDEN

Ms. E. Olkiewicz	National Swedish Social Welfare Board, Stockholm
Ms. S. Foster	National Swedish Social Welfare Board, Stockholm
Ms. B. Schartan	Counsellor in Refugee Camp

THAILAND	
maj. gen. Srisak Dhamaraks	Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Director of Operations Centre for Displaced Persons, Ministry of Interior, Bangkok
wing. com. Paitoon Ratanavorapongse	Chief of Supervision and Control of Displaced Persons Section, Operations Centre for Displaced Persons, Ministry of Interior, Bangkok
Mr. Karan Supakitvilakakarn	Informations Officer, Ministry of Interior, Bangkok
TURKEY	
Mrs. Abadan-Unat	Senator, Professor of Political Science, University of Ankara
Mr. H. Pekin	Research Expert, Research Board, Ministry of Labour, Ankara
UNITED KINGDOM	
Mr. D. R. Snoxell	Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom, Geneva
Mr. M. E. Head	Assistant Secretary, Home Office, London
Mr. J. B. Denton	Senior Resettlement Officer, Ockenden Venture, Birmingham
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
Mr. S. E. Palmer, Jr.	Minister-Counselior for Humanitarian Affairs, Permanent Mission of the United States, Geneva
Mr. J. A. Buche	First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the United States, Geneva
URUGUAY	
Dr. H. Maderna	Asesor Letrado, Dirección nacional de migración, Ministerio del Interior, Montevideo
VENEZUELA	
Srta. I. Balza	Segundo Secretario, Misión Permanente de Venezuela, Ginebra
Sr. E. Nucete	Tercer Secretario, Misión Permanente de Venezuela, Ginebra

International Organizations

Intergovernmental

Comite International de la Croix-rouge	M. N. Vecsey
Commission de la Population et des Réfugiés de l'Assemblée Parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe	M. C. Dejardin
Conseil de l'Europe	M. F. Catalano
International Labour Organisation	Mr. J. H. Lasserre-Bigorry Mr. A. Aziz

International Year of the Child	Mr. J. P. McDougall Ms. F. von Vietinghoff Mr. J.-C. Rey
Organisation de Coopération et de Développement Economiques	M. J.-P. Pilliard
Organization of African Unity	Mr. A. Farag
Organization of American States	Mr. O. Godoy Arcaya Dr. F. Hurtado de Mendoza
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	Mr. R. Parris Mrs. M. Koroma
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	Mrs. H. Brissimi Mr. P. Labreveux Mr. M. Paeffgen
United Nations Organizations	
Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, New York	Mr. E. Hytten
Division of Human Rights, Geneva	Mr. M. Cisse
Division of Social Affairs, Geneva	Miss G. Mara
World Health Organization	Dr. M. Carballo
Non-Governmental	
American Joint Distribution Committee	Mr. Th. D. Feder
Centre International de l'Enfance	M. Y. Charbit
Danish Association for International Co-operation	Mr. O. Hammer
Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland	Mr. P. von Bethlenfalvy
Ford Foundation	Ms. M. Bieber
Hias	Ms. J. Goldsmith
International Catholic Migration Commission	Dr. E. Winkler Mgr. G. Rochcau Mr. M. Vaz
International Council on Social Welfare	Mrs. A. Kuenstler
International Social Service	Ms. W. Rouse
International Union Child Welfare	Ms. E. Underhill
International University Exchange Fund	Ms. P. Smith Mr. H. Khan Mr. D. Clarke

Inter-parliamentary Union	Mr. V. Evseyev
League of Red Cross Societies	Ms. M. Esnard Mr. J. Armitage
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, LCUSA	Mrs. I. Walter Ms. C. Feller Dr. C. Cox
Non-Governmental Organizations – International Year of the Child Committee	Mrs. P. Smyke Miss M. Mingote
Service Social d'Aide aux Emigrants	Mlle M. Vignac
Standing Conference on Refugees (U.K.)	Mr. B. Denton
Union Internationale des Organismes Familiaux	M. W. Dumon
World Council of Churches	Mr. P. Storer Mr. A. Matheson Mrs. M. Saltzow Mr. A. Jacques Mr. W. Lottje
World Young Women Christian Association	Ms. B. Lacroix

Observers

Bendigo College of Advanced Education, Victoria, Australia	Mr. Z. Volek Lecturer in Sociology
Bureau Lausannois pour les Immigrés *Direction de la Sécurité sociale, Lausanne, Suisse*	M. J.-P. Vorlet
Cooperativa Agro-Pecuaria, Holambra, Brasil	Sr. J. Litjens
Jeunesse Culture Loisirs et Technique, Paris, France	M. A. Abbou M. R. Bouchamidi M. Vironneaux
Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America, London, England	Mrs. J. Baseley Mrs. M. Fonfria
Université Ouvrière de Genève, Suisse	M. U. Tosi, Secrétaire général
Australian National University, Australia *University of Sussex, School of Social Sciences, England*	Mr. W. A. Scott, Professor of Psychology Mrs. R. Scott, Research Assistant, Social Psychiatry Research Unit
World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations, Philadelphia, U.S.A.	Mrs. M. Mytrowytsch

ICEM Officials and Staff Members
(participating in the Seminar)

Mr. J. L. Carlin	Director
Mr. G. Maselli	Deputy Director
Mr. F. Bueno do Prado	Chief, Research and International Agency Liaison Unit
Mrs. U. Stansby	Research and International Agency Liaison Unit
Mr. C. Cordt-Møller	Director's Office
Mrs. L. Elkin	Department of Latin American Programmes
Mr. B. Greene	Department of Latin American Programmes
Mr. H. Langeard	Chief, Translation Services
Mr. P. Leofreddi	Department of Operations and Transport
Mr. R. Lohrmann	Research and International Agency Liaison Unit
Mr. W. Mooijman	Chief, Publications and Audio-Visual Services
Miss. P. M. Steele	Department of Operations and Transport
Mr. G. Tortora	Chief, Geneva Office for Latin America
Mr. R. Walon	Chief, Press Information Services
Mrs. S. Ruchat	Responsible for documentation and coordination with Secretariat at ICEM Headquarters
Mrs. G. Rossi	Responsible for registration, seating and coordination with UN Administration
Mrs. J. Hauck	Responsible for processing of recommendations

Books, Periodicals, Pamphlets, Statistics

COMPILED BY G. BEYER

Bueno do Prado, F., and R. Lohrmann, *Trends in the Migration of trained Personnel: The Brain Drain among the developed Countries*, Geneva (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration), 1979, 89, tabl., figures, references (mimeographed paper).
The main findings in the three chapters of this study outline some of the changes international migrations among developed countries have undergone during the last decade. It might be extremely important to ensure that in the coming decade a continuously diversified and better balanced exchange of talent should take place, not just between D.C.'s but even more so between D.C.'s and C.E.D.'s and among countries in economic development themselves.

Dumon, W. et G. Devel, *Sopemi Belgique, 1978*, Louvain (l'Université Catholique Louvain), 1979, 43, tabl., bibliographie.
Ce rapport constitue la réponse de la Belgique à la grille d'information SOPEM/OCDE du 5 avril 1979. (Sopemi: Système d'observation permanente des migrations). Le rapport donne information sur le flux migratoire (pp. 2–11); la population étrangère et celle vivant à l'étranger (pp. 12–22); l'emploi des étrangers (pp. 23–35); et l'établissement dan le pays hôte (pp. 36–39); bibliographie (40–42).

ICEM – *Monthly Dispatch* (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration), Geneva. Concised bulletin on ICEM's current activities in the refugee and national migration field.

Keely, C.B., and E.P. Kraly, 'Recent net alien immigration to the United States: its impact on population growth and native fertility', *Demography*, Washington D.C., 1978, 15, 3. 267-284.
Estimation of the size and structure of recent alien immigration to the United States. The revised estimates indicate a smaller reduction in native fertility and a smaller ultimate size of the resident population than are implied by the Census Bureau's immigration estimates. The important age structures come to the fore.

Pryor, R.J., *Migration and Development in South-East Asia. A demographic Perspective*, Fair Lason, N.J. (Oxford University Press), 1979, 380 tables, figurs, maps, bibliogr.; ISBN -0-19-5804420-1.
This volume presents for the first time a series of migration studies utilizing the 1970 census and sample surveys in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The first section of the book introduces the theme of migration and development, providing a perspective on demographic and mobility transitions, and on the patterns of internal migration characteristic of the 'transitional' stage of modernization. This is followed by a series of country studies with the interwoven themes of general redistribution trends, migration to large cities or growth centers, the characteristics of migrants, and the interrelationships of migration with social and economic development and national planning. The final section focuses on national development plans, urban planning, and land settlement. The concluding chapter summarizes the major features of population redistribution and the main problems for planning, and indicates certain policy and research implications. B.K.

Volek, Z., *Refugee Migrants: A Case Study of Czechoslovak Refugees in Melbourn. Australia*, Bendigo, 1979, 20, tables, ref. appendices. The aim of this paper is to show that refugees – at least some of them – become 'good' migrants in the sense that they settle in the host country permanently and that a majority adjust as well as can be expected, and make contributions in various fields of endeavour to their new country, whilst remaining some identity with the country of their origin.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION
COMITE INTERGOUVERNEMENTAL
POUR LES MIGRATIONS EUROPEENNES
COMITE INTERGUBERNAMENTAL PARA LAS MIGRACIONES EUROPEAS

16, Avenue Jean-Trembley, Petit Saconnex, 1211 Genève 19, Suisse

Argentina
CIME – Tucumán 637 (9° piso)
Buenos Aires

Australia
ICEM – P.O. Box 803
Canberra City, A.C.T. 2601

Austria
ICEM – Sobieskigasse, 20
1090 Vienna

Belgique/Luxembourg
CIME – Rue Bréderode 9
1000 Bruxelles

Bolivia
CIME – Casilla 4407
La Paz

Chile
CIME – Casilla 781
Santiago de Chile

Cyprus
ICEM – c/o Migr. Dept.
Ministry of Interior
Nicosia

Colombia
CIME – Apartado aéreo
No. 52952, Bogotá

Costa Rica
CIME – Apartado 1437
San José

Dominican Republic
CIME – P.O. Box 140-2
(Centro de los Héroes)
Santo Domingo, D. N.

Ecuador
CIME – P.O. Box 1228
Quito

Germany (Fred. Rep. of)
ICEM – Postfach 20 07 72
Friedrichallee 10
D–5300 Bonn 2

Greece
ICEM – P.O. Box 363
Athens 122

Honduras
CIME – Apartado 918

Hong Kong
ICEM – Peking Road 57
Kowloon, Hong Kong

Italy
CIME – Via Nomentana 62
Rome

Malaysia
ICEM – 91 Jalan Campbell
Kuala Lumpur

Nicaragua
CIME – Apartado 3477
Managua, D.N.

Norway/Denmark
c/o Norwegian Refugee
Council
POB 4376
Torshov, Oslo 4

Panamá
CIME – Apartado 7285
Panamá 5, R.P.

Paraguay
CIME – Casilla de Correa 1028As
Asunción

Perú
CIME – Ramon Dugino 117
Oficina 301, piso 3, Lima 1

Philippines
ICEM – c/o MSSD/CNCR
1680 Kansasstreet
Malate
Manila

Portugal
CIME – Rua Camara Pestana 23
Lisbonne

Singapore
ICEM – 2514, International Plaza
10, Anson Road
Singapore 0207

Thailand
ICEM – 3 Patpong Road
Bangkok

United States of America
ICEM – 1346. Connecticut Ave.
Suite 711
Washington D.C., 20036

Uruguay
CIME – Casilla de Correo 1505
Montevideo

Venezuela
CIME – Casilla postal
No 62.358 Caracas 106

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Professor A. Harry Passow
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

PRICE PER VOLUME $10,– POSTAL COST PER VOLUME $2,–
SINGLE COPY $4,– DOUBLE NUMBER $6,–

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY ALBANI – THE HAGUE